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THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE DECLINE OF ANCIENT  
CULTURE

NO one will question the fact that there was, at the end of the period of ancient history, an immense decrease in the quantity and quality of the production of those human goods whose sum represents that all-inclusive thing which we call civilization. We are all agreed as to the area of the world's surface included in the sphere of ancient culture, namely, the ancient Mediterranean world. There is some divergence of opinion, however, in regard to the time at which the rapid decline in intellectual interest and vigor occurred. Far greater is the diversity of opinion as to the reasons which underlie this, the most tragic act in the drama of human development. The causes usually advanced in histories written in English may be summarized as follows: (1) the ancient system of slavery; (2) the decrease in population; (3) the ancient system of taxation; (4) the constant drain of precious metals to the East; (5) Christianity; (6) the infiltration of barbarians into the empire. There are a number of lesser causes which are cited here and there. These six, however, are the ones commonly presented as most important.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately the old view of the moral degeneration of ancient society as a primal cause for the decline seems to have been pretty generally abandoned.<sup>2</sup> I am, therefore, relieved of the necessity of refuting it.

<sup>1</sup> They are chiefly based on the following authorities: an article by Thomas Hodgkin in the *Contemporary Review*, LXXIII. 51-70 (1898), entitled "The Fall of the Roman Empire and its Lessons for us"; Lavissee and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale du IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle à nos Jours* (Paris, 1893), I. 28-31; John G. Sheppard, *The Fall of Rome and the Rise of the New Nationalities* (London, 1861); Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (Oxford, 1892), II. 532 and 533.

<sup>2</sup> It will still be found, but used with great caution, in George Burton Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (1904), p. 79. It should be definitely set aside, both because the fact is incapable of proof and because the effects of sexual immorality of individuals upon society at large have not, so far as my knowledge goes, been scientifically determined.

An essential weakness of the old discussions of the causes of the decline lies in the fact that they did not sharply define the character of the catastrophe and the relative time at which it occurred. It is a matter of internal decay, a desiccation of intellectual vigor in no way induced by external circumstances and accidents. Its manifestations appear markedly after the principate of Trajan when the martial vigor of the Roman Empire still seemed unabated and its powers of expansion unimpaired. The intellectual bankruptcy of the ancient world is declared in the period stretching from about 150 A.D. to 300 A.D. From the time of Constantine forward we are in another intellectual world.<sup>3</sup> It goes without saying that the process of decay, despite its sudden manifestation, was a gradual one. Posidonius of Rhodes stands out as the last great scientific mind which the Greek world produced.<sup>4</sup> Isolated figures appear after his day, like that of Galen, court physician to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, whose works echo reminiscently the tones of the great days and the ideas of the master minds. But the great days were past and the masters were dust.

In what ways can we specifically prove so illusive a thing as a decline in human intellectual vigor? Eduard Meyer has enumerated a number of evidences of the decline in his *Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*.<sup>5</sup> In addition to and in confirmation of the list which he gives there is much evidence that might be cited. The art of the age of Constantine is so vitally different from that of the period of the Antonines that the brilliant Polish archaeologist, Josef Strzygowski, was constrained to explain it as a recrudescence of the artistic canons and forms of the old Oriental art of Pharaonic Egypt.<sup>6</sup> His explanation has not been widely accepted. But the fact of the tremendous loss in artistic conception and technique is apparent.<sup>7</sup> It is best explained, since it occurs throughout the empire, as due to the depraving of Graeco-Roman artistic standards and output, a retrogression to primitive forms and viewpoint.<sup>8</sup> The conventional

<sup>3</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums* (Jena, 1895); revised and reprinted in *Kleine Schriften* (Halle, 1910). This article must certainly be used as the foundation of any new treatment of the economic causes of the decline of ancient culture.

<sup>4</sup> Von Wilamowitz, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer*, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> See *Kleine Schriften*, p. 146, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spät-Antiken und Früh-Christlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1901).

<sup>7</sup> See the porphyry groups from Saint Mark's at Venice which Strzygowski has discussed in *Klio*, II. 105 ff.

<sup>8</sup> So Furtwängler explains it in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (1903), p. 947.

types of the coins of the third century strikingly illustrate the decadence of art and the debasement of social life.<sup>9</sup>

The falling off in the spirit of commercial enterprise is evidenced by the history of the trade of the empire with India. As proved by the finds of Roman coins in India the eastern trade flourished from the time of Augustus to that of the Antonines.<sup>10</sup> It reached its greatest height about the last of the first century.<sup>11</sup> Evidences of continued trade exist until the middle of the third century, followed by a lull which lasted until a revival occurred at the close of the fourth century. Another drastic proof of decline, which is often advanced as a cause, is to be found in the wrecking of the imperial administration in the third century which resulted in the rebellion and independence of exposed territorial units of the empire. By the weakness of the central authority these districts were forced to undertake their own measures of defense and administration.<sup>12</sup>

The correct placing of the bankruptcy of ancient civilization is sufficient to eliminate two of the causes advanced to explain the intellectual poverty and degradation of vitality which succeeded upon the wealth of culture and splendid vigor of the great period of Greek and Roman life. The first of these is the barbarian peril, commonly formulated as the "incursion", "infiltration", or "invasions" of the barbarians. Before the time of Marcus Aurelius there had been no vital harm done by the barbarian invasions, such as had occurred in the third, second, and first centuries B.C. The Greek and Roman world had suffered "infiltration" from early times and had, as it always would have done under healthful conditions, absorbed these elements without pathological results. It was when internal disorders had lowered the resistance of imperial society, from 200 A.D. onward, that the barbarian invasions accelerated the process of decline and powerfully accentuated the hardness and crudity of life which other causes had long since prepared and produced.

The second force which may be eliminated as a destructive factor by the sharper definition of the primary period of decadence is Christianity. It is an impossibility to obtain any satisfactory statistics upon which to base an estimate of the relative proportion of the Christian to the pagan population of the empire even in the third

<sup>9</sup> E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, 1906), I. 62.

<sup>10</sup> G. F. Hill, "Roman Aurei from Pudukota, South India", in *Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, XVIII. 304 ff. (1898).

<sup>11</sup> Speck, *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums* (Leipzig, 1900), I. 197.

<sup>12</sup> See Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 146, note 1.

century. Adolf Harnack's careful study of the evidence obtainable leads him to conclude that in 300 A.D. the percentage of Christians in the eastern portions of the empire fell far below one-half of the total population. In the West the proportion must be greatly reduced below that in the East.<sup>13</sup> About 250 A.D. the Christian community in Rome, the oldest and strongest of the churches of the West, may well have formed between three and five per cent. of the total population of the city.<sup>14</sup> The first traces of Christianity which the Greek papyri have brought us from Egypt are a few certificates made out to people who had officially proved that they were not Christians.<sup>15</sup> These are of the year 250 A.D., in the time of the persecution under Decius. A business letter from a Christian in Rome to a brother Christian in the Fayum which mentions the Alexandrian Bishop Maximus falls within the years 264-282 A.D.<sup>16</sup> This is all that we have upon the Christians of Egypt in the several thousand extant papyri preceding the persecutions under Diocletian. Until further papyri may have changed the impression left by this lack of Christian documents from Egypt before 300 A.D. we are not justified in postulating a large Christian population in that country. It is therefore impossible to assign to Christianity any marked influence upon the empire, either economically or socially, before 300 A.D.<sup>17</sup>

The old belief that the growth of the ascetic ideal and monasticism affected the empire by withdrawing vigorous elements from participation in active life has, I judge, been entirely abandoned. This development, which is to be assigned to the fourth century,<sup>18</sup> came much too late to be considered seriously as a cause of decline, even if the numbers of those affected ever justified such an assumption.

The theory of the drainage of gold to India in coin and bullion is based upon two statements in Pliny's *Natural History* and upon the fact that a number of finds of Roman imperial coins have been made in India during the past century. Pliny says (*Natural History*, VI. 101): "This subject [the route from Egypt to India] is worthy of attention since India in no year drains less than 50,000,000 sesterces [550,000,000 according to the corrupt text of Pliny], of

<sup>13</sup> Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, II. 277.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211, note 4.

<sup>15</sup> Ulrich Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Grundzüge*, p. 130, and *Chrestomathie*, nos. 124 and 125 (Leipzig, 1912). Several other similar certificates, which are in the city library of Hamburg, have not yet been published.

<sup>16</sup> Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Chrestomathie*, no. 126.

<sup>17</sup> See Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, II. 287.

<sup>18</sup> Harnack, *Das Mönchthum* (fifth ed., Giessen, 1901), p. 8.



our empire, remitting in goods which are sold among us at a hundred fold gain." Again he says (*Natural History*, XII. 84): "India and Seres and that Peninsula [Arabia] take away from our empire annually, at the lowest computation, 100,000,000 sesterces. So much do our luxuries and our women cost us." This has been generally accepted as meaning that these sums—\$2,500,000 for India alone, \$5,000,000 for Arabia, India, and Seres—went out of the empire in coinage or in bar,<sup>19</sup> although there is nothing in either passage, which, in my judgment, necessitates this interpretation. On the contrary, in the first passage Pliny mentions the importance of the route from Egypt to India because of the trade which plied between them. Certainly the ships from Egypt went to India laden with goods, not money alone. If we accept Pliny's statement at its face value and reckon the complete sum for the period from Augustus to Antoninus Pius, we come to the conclusion that the drainage of Roman imperial coins to India was \$750,000,000 during the period of the height of the Indian-Roman trade. The sum seems quite out of proportion to the possible gold and silver supply of the ancient world. I cannot accept the passages of Pliny, in themselves of questionable interpretation, as sufficient proof of the drainage of imperial coins to India. There are no other authorities, so far as my knowledge goes, upon which such a claim may be based.

Even in the pages of Pliny assurance may be had that the trade with India was one of exchange of the products of the empire for many forms of eastern goods necessary to the high standard of living maintained within the empire. He states, for example, that India had neither copper nor lead, and exchanged her gems and pearls for these.<sup>20</sup> He indicates in two places that the gain to the Roman merchants engaged in the Indian trade was large.<sup>21</sup> A report has come down to us of the exports and imports of northern India as they passed into and out of Barygaza (Broach on the Gulf of Cambay).<sup>22</sup> The exports were onyx, myrrh, Indian muslins, mallows, a great deal of coarse linens, nard, costus (a pepper-

<sup>19</sup> E. Speck, *Handelsgechichte des Altertums*, I. 201. The two quotations from Pliny are usually supported by the vague statement in a letter of Tiberius to the senate (Tacitus, *Annals*, III. 53), in which Tiberius is made to say that the money of the empire was sent to foreign or hostile races to buy precious stones for the Roman women. The letter of Tiberius was "edited" by Tacitus, not given verbatim. Furthermore we know nothing as to the truth or falsity of Tiberius's statement. It is meagre proof of the drain of money to India.

<sup>20</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXIV. 163.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. 101, and XIV. 52.

<sup>22</sup> *Anonymi Periplus Maris Erythraei* in Carolus Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. I.

like spice), and leeches. It is distinctly stated that these were goods destined for the empire trade.<sup>23</sup> An additional list of exports includes ivory, lycium (a medicinal plant), silks, yarn, and long peppers. The imports passing into India *via* Barygaza were: wines, chiefly Italian, Laodicean, and Arabian; copper and tin; coral and chrysolith; cheap garments of every sort; highly embroidered girdles; styrax (a gum for incense); honey clover; gold and silver coins, which were exchanged with some profit for the local coinage.<sup>24</sup> The imports destined for the Indian king of that reign were regal— heavy silver plate, musical instruments, shapely maidens, wine of superior quality, costly garments, and a fine quality of myrrh. The indications are that the export of luxuries westward into the empire was met by a fairly equal amount of luxuries carried eastward from the empire. Furthermore, the annual balance of credit, as indicated by Pliny's statement of the great profit in the Indian trade, seems to have been favorable to the empire's merchants.

In addition to the proofs given that there is no responsible authority behind the theory of a great export of money to India from the empire, a number of other considerations help to make the idea untenable. I have been able to trace but five important finds of Roman coins in India, four of which are mentioned by Mommsen.<sup>25</sup> The fifth is a hoard discovered early in the year 1898 in the territory of the Rajah of Pudukota.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain a copy of the *Coin Catalogue of the Madras Government Museum* in which the finds of Roman coins in India are gathered together by Mr. Edgar Thurston. The catalogue of coins of the Indian Museum at Calcutta shows but nine Roman coins of undoubted genuineness, as against 118 Graeco-Bactrian, 10 Seleucid, 15 Greek, and 42 Parthian coins.<sup>27</sup> The catalogue of the Panjab Museum at Lahore shows no Roman coins.<sup>28</sup> It is surprising, not that Roman coins have been found in India at all, but that so few finds have been recorded. India at the present time absorbs large quantities of silver from Europe and America, probably a

<sup>23</sup> καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐμπορίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, l. c.

<sup>24</sup> Mommsen's suggestion regarding the use of an inferior plated coin in the Indian trade of the empire (in Mommsen-Blacas, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*, III. 337, note 1, and p. 338) as a sort of "trade dollar", is based upon this passage, and the fact that denarii of Augustus have been found in considerable numbers in India, which are of base metal plated with silver.

<sup>25</sup> Mommsen-Blacas, III. 337, note 2.

<sup>26</sup> G. F. Hill in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, XVIII. 304 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Charles J. Rodgers, *Catalogue of Coins, Indian Museum at Calcutta* (Calcutta, 1893).

<sup>28</sup> R. B. Whithead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore* (Oxford, 1914).

larger quantity in relation to its exports than from the Roman Empire in ancient times. This silver does not return, because of the immemorial practice of hoarding still prevalent in India.<sup>29</sup> Yet we do not apply to England and America of to-day Mun's mercantile theory, that the economic well-being of a country is measured by the surplus in money derived from its favorable balance of trade with another country. No more should it be applied to the Roman Empire in its trade relations with India.<sup>30</sup>

The disappearance of commodity money from circulation in the Roman world was due to hoarding within the empire. This is sufficiently attested by the hundreds of finds of coins in all parts of the empire.<sup>31</sup> Hoarding was due, primarily, to the lack of deposit banks<sup>32</sup> and was greatly increased when economic disorders began to appear in the second century and reached their climax in the third century after Christ.

It is quite impossible to regard the depopulation of the empire as a cause of decline in its culture. The reasons for this statement may be briefly given. 1. Our sources of information upon the population of the ancient world are exceedingly meagre. Of the general census returns from the various parts of the Roman Empire we have only a few notices and their accuracy is very problematic. In other words we have no reliable statistics. We must be chary of making general deductions on the basis of statements of even the best ancient historians, such as Polybius. This attitude of scepticism is, of course, all the more essential when we deal with the historians who rank as secondary and tertiary sources of information.<sup>33</sup> 2. Upon general considerations of the movements of population there is reason to believe that the total population of the empire in-

<sup>29</sup> Ad. Soetheer, "Die Werthrelationen der Edelmetalle", in Hirth's *Annalen des Deutschen Reiches* (1875), pp. 317-318.

<sup>30</sup> My colleague, Professor C. A. Smith, has suggested that the idea of the drainage of gold and silver to India and its disastrous effects upon the ancient Roman economic order probably arose from the application of Mun's mercantile theory, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, to the statements quoted above from Pliny's *Natural History*. See Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (reprinted by Macmillan, New York, 1895), pp. 29-30.

<sup>31</sup> See the list of 871 finds of coins in France, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Rhenish provinces of Germany, recorded by Adrian Blanchet in *Les Trésors de Monnaies Romaines et les Invasions Germaniques en Gaule* (Paris, 1900), pp. 31-53. The great majority of these fall within the period from the accession of Augustus to the death of Constantine the Great.

<sup>32</sup> T. Louis Comparette, *Debasement of the Silver Coinage under the Emperor Nero* (New York, 1914), pp. 6-7.

<sup>33</sup> See Eduard Meyer's article upon the population of the ancient world in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, II. 900. Meyer's article is the basis of my attitude upon this question.

creased steadily during the first century and a half after Christ. For the cities this is made probable by their areas, as shown by excavations upon ancient sites. For the agricultural districts during the same period, the time of the growth of the colonate, an increase, rather than a decrease, would better accord with the general theory of population and poverty.<sup>34</sup> Statistics are, of course, absolutely lacking. 3. The depopulation of the third and succeeding centuries is primarily a result of decline and only secondarily and in the culmination of disasters a cause.<sup>35</sup>

For our knowledge of the numbers of the slave population of antiquity and the ratio of slave to free labor the same baffling situation exists as for the question of population. We have no statistics which may be trusted to give us an accurate picture. Consequently the field has been left open to speculation and to general impressions based upon the statements of the literary sources, which should be applied only to specific districts. Again it is Eduard Meyer who has given us a new point of view in his *Sklaverei im Altertum*,<sup>36</sup> correcting the exaggerated and distorted picture presented during the world-wide anti-slavery movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the economic life of the great Oriental section of the Roman Empire, including Egypt,<sup>37</sup> slavery never played an important rôle in agricultural life. In industry and trade slaves were found in the large manufacturing centres, but in limited numbers. Household slaves were a luxury of the rich.<sup>38</sup>

In the Greek communities the rise of slave labor was a feature and a part of the development of "manufactory" industry. From the early part of the sixth century onward the numbers of the slave artisans increased in the cities like Corinth, Aegina, Athens, and Syracuse, which were the centres of industrial life.<sup>39</sup> From the industrial centres the use of slaves spread into agricultural life, but it never became in Greece the dominant form of farm labor, as it later did in Italy and Sicily. In certain portions of Greece, as in the central part of the Peloponnesus and in the middle-western sec-

<sup>34</sup> Francesco S. Nitti, *Population and the Social System* (London, 1894), pp. 146, 148, 149, 162.

<sup>35</sup> For Eduard Meyer's summary of the movements of population in the empire see *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, II. 911-912.

<sup>36</sup> Reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 169 ff. The advance made by Eduard Meyer lies in his clear grasp of slavery as an institution which has existed throughout the course of civilization. Economically it is merely one form of the labor supply competing with the supply of free laborers in the labor market.

<sup>37</sup> On the subject of slavery in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see Ulrich Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Grundzüge*, pp. 27, 260.

<sup>38</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 189-192.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

tions of Greece, slavery did not at any time gain a firm foothold. Even in the industrial centres we must not lose sight of the continued existence of free artisan labor, working as units in the hard competition with the capitalistic manufactories, which naturally preferred to use unfree artisans because of the lower production cost. There was no organization of labor for its economic defense. Consequently the picture is that of capital using that form of labor which it could obtain most cheaply and exploit most advantageously. It was the unskilled free labor, naturally, which suffered most in this competition of free workmen against slave workmen. The building inscriptions at Athens show that few slaves were employed in the building trades and that these worked as assistants to the free artisans.

In Italy and Sicily in the last two centuries of the Roman Republic the free peasant undeniably went to the wall in the competition with cheap slave labor employed by the landed proprietors. Special conditions peculiar to the Italian state under Rome's hegemony brought about this result. The conditions existing in these two portions of the empire have given rise to the popular exaggeration of the extent of slavery and the notion of its decisive results upon the ancient economic and social order. After the victory of Octavianus at Actium in 31 B.C. and the establishment of the *pax Romana*, the slave supply, which was largely that of wars of the Roman imperialistic period, diminished greatly. At the same time there was no change in the willingness to emancipate slaves, as evidenced by the emancipation inscriptions. For two centuries, therefore, before the great break manifested itself, slavery had been rapidly decreasing and a new type of labor, neither free nor slave, had been taking its place. The height of the slave system in antiquity was synchronous with the highest development of ancient civilization. The economic background for the decline of ancient culture was not slavery, but the Roman colonate.

It is certain that the breaking of the ancient economic and intellectual order of society was due primarily to causes within the Roman Empire. External relations had little appreciable bearing upon the great change. The faults to be found in the current ideas upon the subject are two in number: (1) the habit of viewing separately certain economic phases of ancient society which were inextricably interwoven and inseparable; (2) an insufficient knowledge of the greatest of the difficulties which faced the Roman Empire—the agrarian problem. Combining the information obtained from comparatively recent finds of papyri and inscriptions with the two important sources previously extant, the literary

sources (including the Latin agrarian writers) and the Theodosian and Justinian codes, the course of the agrarian development becomes fairly clear in its general outlines. Many details must yet be subjected to intensive investigation and reconstruction. Of the extensive literature which has sprung up in the past twenty-five years upon this field of work two studies stand out prominently as fundamental, Rostowzew's book upon the Roman colonate<sup>40</sup> and Weber's investigation of Roman agrarian history.<sup>41</sup>

The statement that the Roman system of taxation was the cause of the shattering of ancient civilization is an obvious half-truth. It merely begs the question. Why did taxation, which is a necessary evil, cause the collapse? Upon whom did the burden of taxation fall? Why could not the burden-bearers endure the weight of their taxes? In like manner it has always seemed to me to be entirely futile to say that ancient civilization finally collapsed because the Greeks and Romans put money into beautiful municipal buildings and sunk their wealth in unproductive public works. The ancients, as well as we, had the right "to furnish to the spirit manifold relaxations from labors, taking heed of public games and festivals in their season, and of an attractive setting for our private lives. For the delight of these things day by day drives away wretchedness."<sup>42</sup> The entire question of taxation, with the inquiry into the legitimate or illegitimate expenditure for public recreation, can only be dealt with in connection with the large problems of production. For the Roman Empire the question of taxation is largely a phase of the wide-spread problem of the organization and administration of the state domains.

The difficulties which invested this side of Roman administrative policy were, for the peninsula of Italy, the results of the early development of Rome herself. But in the provinces they were an evil inheritance of her conquests. There the roots of the difficulty were deeply embedded in the past development of the Greek states, of the Persian Empire, and the empire of the Pharaohs. When Rome absorbed Carthage, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt she brought under her domain, accepted, and spread an economic order that was rapidly developing the seeds of its own doom.

When Alexander the Great conquered the Persian Empire he found that the land of Asia Minor outside of the cities was held

<sup>40</sup> M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonats*, I. Beiheft of the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig, 1910).

<sup>41</sup> Max Weber, *Die Römische Agrargeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung für das Staats- und Privatrecht* (Stuttgart, 1891).

<sup>42</sup> Pericles in Thucydides, II. 38.



either as domain land of the Great King or as great proprietary estates.<sup>43</sup> Almost all of the land was apparently given over to nobles and priests, who had emigrated from Iran. Castles arose throughout the country which served as strongholds and as the residences of the foreign land-holding nobility. A free native peasantry was transmuted into a serf population, bound to the soil. In general it is fairly safe to say that the midland of the Persian Empire was characterized by large landed estates held in fee from the Great King. This system probably had attained its characteristic features under the Assyrian Empire.<sup>44</sup> Its origins may be traced deeply into the Babylonian period.

Especially in the Nile valley Alexander assumed control of an agricultural state in which the land had for ages been the farm of the Pharaoh and the laborers his peasants, each enrolled at the definite place where he was called upon for his villein service.<sup>45</sup> In trade and industry, as well as in agrarian production, the Pharaoh had been the one great capitalist capable of far-reaching enterprises. It is probable that the weaving and export of linen had at times been a monopoly of the Egyptian kings.<sup>46</sup> The great mercantile expeditions into Yam (central Africa) under the Old Kingdom and those of Queen Hatshepsut into Punt were entirely royal enterprises. In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the influence of the royal storehouses upon industry and trade must have been overpowering.<sup>47</sup>

Upon this form of land tenure and industrial production the ancient Oriental monarchies had reached a status of relative social equilibrium and stability during the last centuries of the second millennium and the first half of the first millennium B.C. The Persian rule of the empire of western Asia seems to have brought with it economic stagnation. The irrigation system in the Tigris-Euphrates basin declined, and the entire economic vitality seems to have been sapped, along with other causes, by the excessive de-

<sup>43</sup> See Rostowzew, *Geschichte des Röm. Kolonats*, pp. 240-243. For the manorial estates in Lydia and Maeonia see Georges Radet, *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au Temps des Mermnades* (Paris, 1893), pp. 87, 90, 91; for the land system in Pontus and Cappadocia, Th. Reinach, *Mithradates Eupator* (German translation, Leipzig, 1895), pp. 14, 17, 235-236, and Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 17.

<sup>44</sup> Max Weber, article "Agrargeschichte" in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 71, 73-80. This remarkable article contains the best survey of the combined political-economic development of antiquity that we have. It is indispensable to anyone who wishes to gain a thorough understanding of ancient economic problems and is the source of many of the ideas here presented.

<sup>45</sup> Weber, in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 85.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.



mands of the local governors for taxation, which was paid in produce.<sup>48</sup> As this economic system set and became rigid, the culture of the ancient Oriental world had become traditional and stereotyped. The result of the system was spiritual monotony and intellectual anemia.

Granting that Eduard Meyer<sup>49</sup> has overemphasized the modernness of the industrial character of Greek and Roman economic life, the fact remains that his interpretation is, in its larger aspects, the correct one and the essential basis for any further discussion of the subject.<sup>50</sup> It may be best to avoid misunderstanding in dealing with ancient Greek industry by abjuring the use of the terms "factory" and "factory hands", the connotations of which are so irretrievably modern. These reservations do not at all change the fact that we have in the Greek world, from about 700 B.C., the development of cities with a wide expansion of industry and transmarine trade between the far-spread Hellenic city-states such as, quantitatively, the world had never before seen.

The articles for export, especially vases, were made in the Hellenic industrial centres of the period from 700 B.C. in "manufactories". The "manufactory" was the workroom of some wealthy man who was often an importer of raw products. The part of his supply which he might not sell to free artisans was worked into form for the local or export market in his *ergasterion* by bought or rented slaves.<sup>51</sup> The free artisans, too, whether working singly or in a group, at home or in a small shop, were certainly manufacturing for export as well as for local trade.

Recent archaeological activity and the scientific analysis of the vase types found in various parts of the Mediterranean world are gradually leading to an accurate and unassailable knowledge of the general spread of trade of the Hellenic city-states and the special spheres of certain industrial cities, as well as the overlapping of the trade of one city into the sphere of another.<sup>52</sup> The increasingly com-

<sup>48</sup> Weber, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 125.

<sup>49</sup> In his "Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums", in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 79 ff.

<sup>50</sup> For an excellent summary of the discussion between Eduard Meyer and the economists, Rodbertus and Karl Bücher, see again Weber's article, already so often cited, upon "Agrargeschichte" in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 54 ff. Compare also the *exkurs* at the end of Kurt Riezler's excellent study, *Ueber Finanzen und Monopole im alten Griechenland* (Berlin, 1907).

<sup>51</sup> See Max Weber, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 56.

<sup>52</sup> Hugo Prinz in his article "Funde aus Naukratis", in *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, VII. Beiheft, has given a remarkable picture of the export trade in pottery from the Greek city-states.

mercial character of the external politics of the Greek states after 700 B.C. is a result of this free and active competition.<sup>53</sup> Other characteristics of the commerce and industry of the "classic period" are the rapid spread of the use of commodity money and a very large relative increase in the size of cities. The Hellenic world, however, developed very unevenly in this respect and the industrial cities were largely confined to the coastal areas. Central-western Greece, Epirus, and Macedon did not share in the industrial evolution until later. Nor did the use of coinage in exchange ever develop in antiquity to the point of superseding entirely exchange and payment in *naturalia*.<sup>54</sup> Yet the outstanding characteristics of the Hellenic world at its height, as compared with the economic world which preceded it and that which followed the decline of ancient civilization, are these: (1) large cities; (2) manufactories in these cities whose output was destined and used for a widespread export trade; (3) the use of commodity money in exchange.

The Greek system of land tenure shows a freedom of alienation commensurate with the freedom of trade and industry, except in those states which, like Thessaly and Sparta, were directly organized on the strict basis of a land-holding citizen army and in which the citizen allotments were theoretically inalienable. Despite the fact that the citizen army of Athens in the fifth century was largely a corps of free peasantry, enrollment in the demes was even then quite independent of calling or domicile. Ownership of land was no longer essential for deme registration.<sup>55</sup>

It was under such conditions of economic freedom that the Hellenic world developed its remarkable civilization, distinguished by that intensity of individual expression which still impresses us as so singular and so inspiring. In the fourth century, during the exhausting period of the inter-state wars, the insufficiency of the city-state financial policy, along with other causes, began to produce results ominous for the future Greek economic life. In order to cover the extraordinary expenditures incident upon continental wars, the city-states began to alienate their domains and those of the temples and to sink in the wars the surplus in gold and silver objects deposited as offerings in the temples. Working upon the ancient theory of the supremacy of the state, by confiscation of the property of the wealthy and the sale of their lands the states made insecure what had been the safest sphere of investment of capital,

<sup>53</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 104-116.

<sup>54</sup> Ludwig Mitteis, *Aus den Griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 26.

<sup>55</sup> Max Weber, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 112-115.

namely, the soil. The exercise of the sovereign right of the states in establishing bank monopolies hindered the promising development of private banks, such as were springing up in Athens. The difficulty of the food supply for the cities, continually growing in size, in a land which was dependent upon imported food-stuffs, became increasingly apparent. Capitalism had not yet grown to a degree that enabled private enterprise to cope with this problem. Indeed the lack of highly developed transportation facilities and the insufficiency of private capitalistic enterprise backed by a system of state credits, made the question of the city food supply one of the most serious which faced the Graeco-Roman world throughout its ancient history. The governments were forced into the grain business as the greatest entrepreneur. Competition with the state, which could fix prices as the needs of the case might demand, was difficult for the small grain dealer. The growing signs of the inefficiency of the Hellenic city-state financial policy in the fourth century, its inability to establish a sound state credit, its attempts to help itself over hard times by establishing temporary monopolies, and the disastrous results of such a policy upon the security and vitality of private enterprise, are well stated by Riezler in his pamphlet upon Greek finances and monopolies.<sup>56</sup>

Into the civilization of the Persian Empire an entirely new idea was projected when Alexander and his successors founded cities after the Greek model at the junctures of the great highways from the Nile River to India. The heart of each of these city-states was the group of Macedonian and Greek soldiers, officials, and merchants, who formed the citizen body. The native population was herded in from the villages round about. So the cities arose quickly by the Greek process of *synoecism*. Their business ideals and methods must, at first, have been entirely those of Greece. From the outset, therefore, we have two antagonistic political and economic principles pitted against each other—on the one hand the Oriental serf-state working under a system of natural economy, on the other the Greek city-state with its coinage system and its traditions of political and industrial freedom.

The greatest administrative question which confronted the suc-

<sup>56</sup> Kurt Riezler, *Ueber Finanzen und Monopole im alten Griechenland*. Undoubtedly many causes combined to bring about the disorganization in the Greek city-states of the Greek peninsula and Asia Minor in the fourth and third centuries. Riezler has emphasized those causes inherent in the political construction and theory of the city-state, and in its financial policy. The continual wars and the decline of the western trade, due to the growth of manufacturing in the West, must have been powerful elements in producing the economic troubles in Greece itself.

cessors of Alexander in western Asia and Egypt was that of the conduct of their immense royal domains. The inscriptions give us their divergent answers to the problem. The Seleucids sold off large tracts of the royal domain, including the *laoi*, or peasants, and their possessions, to private persons or to cities, granting to the purchaser full title.<sup>57</sup> These alienated estates were then attached to some city-state and enrolled upon its land register. The new land-barons took up their residence in the castles formerly occupied by the Iranian nobles, or dwelt in the cities as absentee landlords. The Persian form of land tenure was not materially changed by this innovation. As to the agricultural laborers it is presumable that, even upon the great estates privately owned, they were still serfs, but now city-state serfs instead of royal serfs,<sup>58</sup> enrolled on the registers of the city-states instead of the registers of the royal domain. They had no legal freedom of changing their domicile, but were definitely attached, for purposes of taxation and administration, to their native villages.<sup>59</sup>

The information upon the agrarian and industrial history of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt is, thanks to the papyri, much more definite and satisfactory than that for western Asia. Under the Ptolemies all the land of Egypt belonged to the sovereign. It was divided, for purposes of administration, into *Ge Basilike*, or royal domain, and *Ge en Aphesei*, or land under grant. The royal domain was worked directly by the crown by means of royal peasants, *Basilikoi Georgoi*. The land under grant was worked by subjects who had possession, but not absolute ownership.<sup>60</sup> It is necessary to fix clearly the fact that the ownership of all land in Egypt rested with the ruler,<sup>61</sup> and that the mass of the native subject population, both the royal peasants and those who worked the lands under grant for their leaseholders, were increasingly bound to their villages, to their agricultural duties, and certain villein services due to the state.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Rostowzew, *Römischer Kolonat*, pp. 248-251. The chief inscriptions are those published in Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones*, nos. 221, 225, 335, 336. To these is to be added the interesting and important inscription from Sardes published by Buckler and Robinson in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVI. 11 ff. (1912).

<sup>58</sup> Rostowzew, *Römischer Kolonat*, p. 254.

<sup>59</sup> Max Weber, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 129. The source of this decision is the Laodice document, Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones*, no. 225.

<sup>60</sup> Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Grundzüge* (Leipzig, 1912), I. 1, p. 271 ff.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 270-272; Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, p. 79.

<sup>62</sup> Weber, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 129.

Highly characteristic of the administrative industrial policy of the Ptolemaic régime is the development of state monopolies. In the Greek city-states of the fourth century these had been temporary expedients, employed in time of need. Under the absolutistic rule of the Ptolemies the monopolies of the state were continuous, carried on in the interest of the fiscus, and covering some of the most important branches of industry.<sup>63</sup> The oil monopoly included a monopoly of production, manufacture, and sale of oil. The banking system, also, was a complete state monopoly. In many other fields the king either had a complete monopoly or appeared as a powerful competitor to private enterprise. So the Ptolemaic king, like the ancient Pharaoh, appears as the greatest manufacturer in Egypt and the greatest merchant.<sup>64</sup>

That part of the population of Egypt which worked upon the royal domains or in the royal manufactories and all those who worked under any form of lease from the state, comprised a distinct class, distinguished in the papyri as "those involved in the royal revenues". The actual laborers in the monopolies were direct serfs of the state and the royal peasants rapidly tended to become serfs. Both alike were bound to the places at which they worked, and were punished if they removed from that place.<sup>65</sup> The royal peasants might at any time be called upon for compulsory labor on canals, in the state mines, or upon the royal transport ships.

Such is the picture of the economic and social situation in western Asia and Egypt when these lands were brought within the Roman Empire. In Asia Minor there were great royal domains, which the Roman state inherited, together with manorial estates and city-state territories. The mass of the agricultural population worked the land in a condition which certainly bordered on serfdom. In Egypt there was the state, the all-powerful Ptolemy at the top, holding an absolute monopoly of the land and of many lines of industry, and appearing as a strong competitor to private enterprise in other lines. Below him stood a middle class, including priests, soldiers, and large leaseholders, who were already growing to be a semi-official body. Below them was the great mass of the Egyptian peasantry and laborers. Imposed upon this social structure in the eastern lands were the Greek city-state foundations, with their free political life, free at least in their local activities, bringing with them the traditions of the old Greek freedom of commerce and

<sup>63</sup> For the most comprehensive statement which we yet have of the number of Ptolemaic monopolies see Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Grundzüge*, I. 1, p. 239 ff.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>65</sup> Rostowzew, *Römischer Kolonat*, p. 66.

industry. The wealthy men of these cities were absentee landlords whose estates lay within the city-state territory. For the taxes from these estates they were responsible. The Hellenistic period is further characterized by a continual increase in the use of commodity money as opposed to exchange in *naturalia*.

The agrarian history of the Roman Republic is too well known to require anything more than a reminding sketch. On the one hand appeared the tendency toward the building of large estates, which was founded in the system of leasing the *ager publicus*. Against this tendency stood the insistent democratic legislation which worked toward the division of the farm lands of Italy among the veteran colonists of the Roman citizen body and the Italian alliance under Rome's hegemony. This struggle to maintain the old freedom of general disposal of the state lands carried with it an attempt to put a limit to the use of slaves on the Italian estates. The story of the failure of the democratic land policy in the second century B.C. need not be repeated. The reasons for the defeat of the citizen peasant and the small farmer are well known.<sup>66</sup> In the first century B.C. the mischief was already done. A few great landowners ruled the state and some part of the old peasantry had become impoverished proletariat. In 104 B.C. a political leader at Rome asserted that there were not 2000 men in the state who had property.<sup>67</sup>

The annexation of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain and the adoption of the principles of the agrarian policies of Sicily and Carthage undoubtedly had a powerful influence upon the development already mentioned in Italy. In Sicily under the Syracusan hegemony a unified and simple system had been adopted in which all the land, whether city-state territory or royal domain, was treated alike. The sovereignty of the state was pre-eminent, all subjects were regarded as *Georgoi*, and all paid the tithe from their lands, just as the royal domains did.<sup>68</sup> In this system the city-states had become administrative units in the process of bringing in the *tributum*. All the landholders of Sicily were regarded by the Romans as "*coloni* and peasants of the Roman people".

Upon the great African and Sicilian estates the laborers were

<sup>66</sup> The correction of the current idea that slave labor entirely drove out free agricultural labor in Italy will be found in the careful and convincing study of Herman Gummerus, "Der Römische Gutsbetrieb als Wirtschaftlicher Organismus", in *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, V. Beiheft (Leipzig, 1906). Poor small farmers continued to maintain themselves throughout the republican period, p. 62.

<sup>67</sup> The capitalistic leader Philippus, in Cicero, *De Officiis*, II. 73.

<sup>68</sup> Rostowzew, *Römischer Kolonat*, p. 234.



largely slaves during the period of the Roman Republic. Free labor was used chiefly at the time of the harvest. In the West, therefore, the small farmer and agricultural laborer was forced into the city, there to seek subsistence in the city's industrial life or to swell the numbers of the poverty-stricken city proletariat. The founding of agricultural colonies as an outlet for this element had practically ceased after the defeat of the Gracchan legislation. The problem of feeding this element of the city population added to the difficulty, always so apparent in antiquity, of the city food supply.

During the first century and a half of the Roman Empire the Greek policy of city foundations spread into the West. With their growth manufactories arose. Their industrial life and financial system were those of the Hellenistic cities. For the taxes and liturgies demanded by the government the well-to-do citizens, chiefly the owners and lessees of agricultural estates, were held responsible.<sup>69</sup> The *pax Romana* of the early imperial period closed the sources of the supply of cheap slaves. The numbers of the slaves decreased in agricultural labor because the prices paid for them rose so high that their use became economically disadvantageous.<sup>70</sup> In the households of the wealthy, slaves still appear, of course; but they are luxuries which could only be afforded for personal service by the rich. In the industries slave artisans were still used side by side with free skilled laborers, as capitalistic investments of their owners to whom the proceeds of their labor went.<sup>71</sup>

Beside the increase in the number of cities and their population, appears an immense increase in the imperial domains in the first century of our era. Those private estates which survived also grew to large proportions. But the smaller estates and leaseholds began to disappear rapidly. The place of slave labor upon these domains and great estates is taken by the *coloni*, who work the soil under a form of sub-lease for private owners or large leaseholders. The pressure upon them is always greater and the application of the doctrine of *origo*, the doctrine that they must remain fixed to the place of their registration upon the state books for the fulfillment of their services, is increasingly more strict.<sup>72</sup> This theory is applied by the

<sup>69</sup> Rostowzew, in his article upon the "Kolonat", in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, V. 918.

<sup>70</sup> Max Weber in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I. 179.

<sup>71</sup> Herman Gummerus in *Klio*, XIV. 317. This article is an extremely careful organization and analysis of the materials extant upon the jewelry and metal trades. The studies promised by Gummerus upon other special lines of trade will be awaited with great interest.

<sup>72</sup> For this development in Egypt see Rostowzew, *Römischer Kolonat*, p. 226; for northern Africa, *ibid.*, p. 227.



state upon the big private *latifundia* as well as upon the imperial domains which the government leased to the *conductores*. These leaseholders, who during the first century were absentee landlords living in the cities, were responsible to the state for the rentals, whether in money or produce, and the government sacrificed to them the *coloni*, or sub-lessees. The results upon the volume of agricultural production could not be otherwise than bad; and this is clearly apparent in the imperial legislation of the end of the first and the course of the second century.

The first of the Roman emperors to legislate against this vicious trend of affairs was, in all probability, Vespasian,<sup>73</sup> who was the grandson of a minor tax official and son of a money lender. From the time of the Flavians to that of Caracalla we have imperial decrees upon the relations of the *coloni*, or small-leaseholders and the actual peasants, to the large-leaseholders (*conductores*) and the great private landlords. This legislation speaks eloquently of the decline in production, the waste lands, and abandoned lands. It attempted to protect the *coloni* from oppression by the big leaseholders and private possessors. It tried to encourage them to bring under cultivation the abandoned fields. But in so doing it drew the bands more tightly about the *coloni*. To meet the oppression of the big landlords the state fixed the amount of produce the *colonus* was to pay to the landlord and the number of days of his obligatory services, on the imperial domains and private domains alike. And that he might be assured the rights which the state guaranteed him he was forced to dwell within the domain.

The system of leasing the public domains spread into Spain, Gaul, and the lands along the Danube. The state mines were also handled in the same way and here, too, by the time of Hadrian the *coloni* had displaced the slave labor formerly employed.<sup>74</sup> In this inability of the imperial administration to re-establish in the East a strong free peasantry, quantitatively and materially strong, and to maintain the old free peasantry in the West, lie the basic causes first of the economic, then of the intellectual decline of the Graeco-Roman civilization. Three results of this inefficiency to meet a great problem are clear and definite.

1. Its great result was the decline in intellectual vigor of the great agrarian population. For the free peasant of Italy and the West in general became a work-tool of the state and the great land-owners, a work-tool bound to the place where it was needed. Pri-

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325-336.

<sup>74</sup> J. B. Mispoulet, "Le Régime des Mines à l'Époque Romaine et au Moyen Âge", in *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit*, pp. 345-391, 491-537 (1907).

vate enterprise and initiative disappeared and the conditions which arose were those already depicted for the end of the Pharaonic régime in Egypt and the Persian Empire in western Asia. In this process the agricultural slavery in the West had undoubtedly played its part.

2. As the Roman Empire passed from its small estates, worked by slave and free labor, to its great imperial and private domains, the number of the free agricultural "production units" declined enormously. Consequent upon the decline in the number of these production units came a great decrease in productivity and the tax-paying power of a given acreage of land. Consequently the state, in order to meet its regular and increasing demands for taxes, was forced to press upon the *decuriones*, who were the great leaseholders or land capitalists resident in the city-states. Under the ancient theory of state liturgies they, too, were bound to their city-state by the doctrine of *origo*. Early in the third century the *decuriones* undoubtedly could be forced by the state to return to the city-state of their *origo* with which their obligations to the state were bound.<sup>75</sup> Thus, in the third century, the middle class, too, was forced to the wall under the weight of its liturgical obligations and the lesser estates fell away more and more and helped to swell the vast domains of single land barons who were strong enough to resist the pressure and force immunities from the government.

3. The establishment of the colonate brought about the economic ruin of the industrial city. It must be remembered that the background of the high civilization of the Greek world was the city-state with its manufactories and its political and economic freedom. This civilization and the industrial city out of which it grew were the heritage of the Roman world. Outside of its Eastern trade and a much smaller volume of trade with the Germans, the empire had no other foreign spheres of consumption. The bulk of the city production must be consumed within the empire. The welfare of that form of economic order, therefore, depended upon the possibility of selling the city production to a wide-spread capacity to buy. And the consumers must necessarily be the country population. The colonate, however, had destroyed the consumption power of the country districts through the vast shrinkage in the free units of production.<sup>76</sup> This eventually led to the abandonment of the cities, which lost in attractiveness as their industrial vigor decayed.<sup>77</sup> The debasement of the imperial coinage in the second and third

<sup>75</sup> Max Weber, *Römische Agrargeschichte*, p. 256.

<sup>76</sup> Ludwig Mitteis, *Aus den Griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, p. 34.

<sup>77</sup> Weber, *Römische Agrargeschichte*, p. 262.

centuries is undoubtedly to be regarded as an administrative effort to meet, by temporary expedients, the conditions arising from the great economic disturbances just depicted.

In the second century the reversion began from an industrial life based on a wide use of coinage to the more primitive conditions of payments in kind and exchange of produce.<sup>78</sup> In the third century the signs of this reversion are much more marked. The big estates again took up the manufacture of the goods which they needed. So the great epoch of the industrial city-state is past and with it "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome".

What I have tried to do is to show that it was the loss of economic freedom, even more than the loss of political freedom, which had such disastrous results upon private initiative and finally undermined the ancient Graeco-Roman civilization. I am not unaware that other causes beside those I have enumerated played their rôle in this great historic tragedy. Among those which may be suggested are the spread of city-state and imperial monopolies;<sup>79</sup> the lack of a state system of credits commensurate with and able to support the intricate and relatively highly organized industrial and commercial life of the empire; and the problem of the city food-supply. These questions, like many others in this field of work, are still open to investigation.

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<sup>78</sup> As Rostowzew has pointed out (*Römischer Kolonat*, p. 369), it was quite natural that the *coloni*, who lived in a situation of natural economy and were for the greater part poor, should pay in kind rather than in money.

<sup>79</sup> Under the Roman Empire in Egypt, for example, the state monopolies of the Ptolemies were continued. In my judgment the imperial *cura annonae*, or care of the grain supply, must be handled in connection with private enterprise in the transportation and consumption of grain. A beginning of this form of treatment is to be found in Rostowzew's article upon *frumentum* in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyklopädie*. The Roman emperors were the great grain-dealers of their world.

## MAGNA CARTA AND THE RESPONSIBLE MINISTRY<sup>1</sup>

As was naturally to be expected, the conclusion reached in my *Origin of the English Constitution* has not found universal acceptance. In that book I maintained that what is distinctive in the English constitution, what has given it its unique place in the history of the world, that is, the principle and the constitutional machinery of a limited monarchy, was derived directly from the principles and practices introduced by Magna Carta, and that therefore the origin of the English constitution is to be found in Magna Carta. In dissent it has been declared that the English constitution contains far more than the machinery of a limited monarchy. As I have anticipated this criticism in the book and explained with reference to it the sense in which I use the term constitution, I do not consider that the objection, put in this form, needs further discussion. It has been put in more specific form, however, by Dr. McKechnie in the second edition of his *Magna Carta*. He implies, justly I think, that I have not shown the connection with the development begun by Magna Carta of one of the most important features of the present constitution, the responsible ministry. Dr. McKechnie says:

The main line by which that monarchy has progressed from medieval to modern ideals has not been by the method, unsuccessfully attempted in 1215, 1244, 1258, 1265 and 1311 (to name only the best known instances), of subjecting the King to the dictation of a Committee of his adversaries; but rather the method of using the counsellors of his own appointment to curb his own caprice, while making it progressively difficult for him to appoint any minister of whom the national council did not approve.<sup>2</sup>

The same point has been put in another way in a private letter which

<sup>1</sup> This article is published as a contribution to the observance of the seventh centennial of Magna Carta. In its preparation I have made a special use of the following books and articles and would here acknowledge my indebtedness to them: Sir William R. Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution*, I. 39-43 (1909), vol. II., ch. II. (1907); H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet* (1912), chs. I., II., III.; Sir William R. Anson, *English Historical Review*, XXIX, 56-78, 325-327; E. I. Carlyle, *ibid.*, XXVII. 251-273; H. W. V. Temperley, *ibid.* XXVII. 682-699; XXVIII. 127-131; E. R. Turner, *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVIII. 751-768; XIX. 27-43, 772-794. The articles of Carlyle, Temperley, and Turner are concerned mainly with external forms, or the development of the cabinet. Sir William Anson considers more fully the idea of responsibility and Mr. Learned's book is valuable in the same direction.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta* (1914), p. 127.

I have received from a professor of history in one of our principal universities. He says:

The principle of Magna Carta that the King personally is subject to the law and can be coerced if he breaks it is not the principle of the constitution to-day. Just when and how was the modern principle that the King can do no wrong, coupled with the responsibility of his ministers to the law, substituted for it?

My critics plainly assume that the principle of ministerial responsibility originated outside the line of results derivable from Magna Carta, and one of them believes that it has taken the place in the present constitution of the principle that the king is subject to the law. The question thus raised is a most important one. Ministerial responsibility has played so great a part in the practical operation of the English constitution for more than a century; it seems to the student of the nineteenth century so clearly of the very nature of the constitution and even appears to be its one essential feature; it has had so much to do with making possible the adoption of the constitution more or less completely by all kinds of monarchies, from those that are virtually democratic republics to those that are scarcely modified absolutisms, that certainly no understanding of English constitutional history is complete until the source of that principle and the way in which it entered into the final result are clear.

There can be no doubt that an idea of ministerial responsibility is to be found in the Middle Ages and that it was to a considerable extent realized in fact. In the passage from which I have quoted, Dr. McKechnie enumerates by date the first clumsy experiments which were made in the effort to give institutional expression to the principle that the king may be compelled to keep the law. They were blind gropings after the idea of ministerial responsibility, so vaguely conceived that no one saw a better way than to remove entirely the ministers of the king's appointment, or even to suspend the king's authority itself, and substitute for the time being ministers, or a kind of commission, directly responsible to the great council. Dr. McKechnie has seen clearly enough that modern ministerial responsibility did not grow out of these first instances, but they are by no means the only efforts during the Middle Ages to find some pacific, non-revolutionary method of enforcing royal respect for the law. The rapid growth of parliamentary power between 1310 and 1360, for only the faintest beginning had been made by 1310, introduced a new element into the situation. Not

merely had Parliament in the interval greatly enlarged the body of law which the king was required to observe,<sup>3</sup> but it had so perfected its own organization and won for itself so clearly a definite place in the constitution, that it was prepared to take charge with great efficiency of the enforcement of the king's obligations, in place of the somewhat unorganized and inconsistent baronial opposition.<sup>4</sup> To my mind it is indispensable to any understanding of the formation of the English constitution to see that although the development of Parliament down to this point was independent of the line of development begun by Magna Carta, what took place shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century was the assumption by Parliament of the supervision of that line of development.<sup>5</sup> What Parliament did in its first efforts to control the ministers of Edward III. was not something new in principle, nor a change of purpose, but it was to employ a new method of putting the old principle into operation. That a great advance was made at this point is beyond doubt, but the advance did not consist in the introduction of any new principle, nor indeed in any clearer perception or better formulation of the old, but in the better method which came into use through the higher organization of the body which assumed charge and the possibility of a more continuous and consistent growth.

The method employed from this time on in the coercion of the king was no longer to appoint over him a "committee of his adversaries", but to hold the ministers of the king's own appointment re-

<sup>3</sup> The body of law to which the king was held subject had undoubtedly been much changed by the decline of feudalism and much enlarged by the development of national life, and especially by the principles referred to above, established in the growth of Parliament's power, but the continued influence of the fundamental principle of Magna Carta was assured by its simplicity and its adaptability to the changing conditions of social advance. See *Origin of the English Constitution*, pp. 157, 169, note.

<sup>4</sup> See *Origin*, pp. 157-167. With this compare Dr. Gaillard Lapsley in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 124 (1913), in a "note" on the "Commons and the Statute of York". Dr. Lapsley, I think, dates the beginning of parliamentary supervision somewhat too early. It seems probable that the power of Parliament was too undeveloped before the last years of Edward III. to permit of any continuous guardianship of constitutional principles. The date is more clearly marked by the beginning of impeachment than by any other single fact.

<sup>5</sup> Parliament laid the foundation for this assumption early in the fourteenth century in its efforts to obtain financial control, and it is surely not necessary to emphasize the important place given to this control, so far as recognized by the law of that day, in 1215 and in the actual practice of the thirteenth century. Nor is it necessary to point out that this control was definitely restored to the formal tradition of Magna Carta in 1297. It should, however, not be overlooked that upon this restoration was definitely based the first slight step in parliamentary development in the grants upon conditions at the beginning of the reign of Edward II., and that upon this last was directly founded the whole construction of parliamentary power in the reign of Edward III.



sponsible to Parliament for what they did in carrying out his policy or, if in some cases Parliament appointed, it was not with any special purpose of selecting the leaders of an active opposition. The new method is to be seen in the history of the treasurers during the last years of Edward III.'s reign, in the control of the councils of Richard II.'s minority and of the three Lancastrian reigns, and most perfectly of all in the process of impeachment. But however modern the description may sound which may be given of this new method, it is really distinguished from the modern and identified with the medieval by two most essential characteristics. In the first place it is the king who is coerced and not the ministers. The real executive is the king and the ministers are punished as a means of coercing him. Parliament has as yet no conception of itself as the final authority in determining the policy of the government, or of the ministers as carrying out its policy rather than the king's. In the second place, Parliament holds the ministers to a direct responsibility to itself. It compels them to report to itself, it brings criminal accusations against them, and punishes them with death. The modern indirect responsibility is not thought of. These two differences reveal an impassable gulf between the modern and the medieval forms of ministerial responsibility. The first indicates a vitally important difference of purpose and interpretation, and the second an institutional difference, in the mechanical operation of the principle, which alone would make its derivation from the earlier impossible.<sup>6</sup> Modern ministerial responsibility has nothing in common with medieval beyond the name and the mere idea. Undoubtedly the abstract idea is the same, but constitutional history does not concern itself with abstract ideas, except to note them as

<sup>6</sup> If, however, any one is convinced that the modern is derived from the medieval form, it should not be difficult to see its direct connection with Magna Carta. As I have said above, the methods of coercion and control adopted in the last half of the fourteenth century and continued in the fifteenth, rest back for their foundation upon the principles brought into the constitution in 1215. They are merely improved methods of doing the same thing that was attempted in 1258 and 1310. This is true even of impeachment, the medieval expedient which passes on into modern times, for its object was not to transfer the initiative and control of government policy from the king to his ministers; that was an idea still in the far distant future and impossible to the fourteenth century. It was merely a new and improved method of coercing the king. If the modern were derived from the medieval, its origin would be far more conscious and deliberate than it was, and we should be able to discover the stages of change. It may be added that in the fourteenth century also the use of the counsellors of the king's own appointment to curb his caprice, and the making of it difficult for him to appoint any minister of whom the national council did not approve were still in the distant future.



sources of suggestion and impulse.<sup>7</sup> It deals with the institutional forms in which ideas are expressed and the way in which these institutions operate in the daily carrying on of government. In these particulars, in the matter of ministerial responsibility, a great change occurred somewhere between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup>

Not merely in institutional form but in practical result, it is difficult to overstate the importance of this difference. Had the course of English history led to a constitution in which in form and law the ministry was directly responsible to Parliament instead of to the king, not merely would it have been immensely more difficult to reconcile the sovereign to a loss of the substance of power, but the adoption of the constitution by other and reluctant monarchies would have been made a practical impossibility. The compromise feature of the present constitution would have had no existence. The choice which in that case a successful revolution might offer to a sovereign between a formal direct responsibility of all the organs of actual government to the legislative assembly on one side, and an out-and-out republic on the other, would have had no particular significance. The world influence of the English constitution depended for its existence upon the fact that Parliament came to control the actual government indirectly, not directly; that an actual republic was concealed under all the ceremonial and theoretical forms of a continued monarchy.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The influence upon constitutional history of John Locke's attempt to find a philosophical justification for the Revolution of 1688 in his second *Treatise on Government* was great in both France and America, but this fact does not make Locke's *Treatise* in itself considered a part of constitutional history.

<sup>8</sup> What binds together in this respect the development of the English constitution from its beginning in 1215 to the latest step which has been taken in it, is the effort to find some means of holding the king responsible without the danger of civil war and revolution. It is really this common characteristic, so far as we are not deceived by the mere name, which tempts us to identify medieval with modern ministerial responsibility, not the existence of a true institutional identity, for that is usually assumed without investigation.

<sup>9</sup> I have said much on ministerial responsibility as aiding in the spread of the English constitution throughout the world and accounting for its influence. I have no wish to modify these statements, but it must be noticed that they apply rather to the influence of the constitution in the nineteenth century than earlier. The practical experience of the Continent, especially of France, with absolutism, and the effort which was made by the French philosophers to attack the theoretical foundation of an absolute monarchy, aided by the results reached in England, especially by Locke, in attempting to justify philosophically the revolution of the seventeenth century, gave to the English constitution an influence in the eighteenth century which is derived from the general fact of limited monarchy, with comparatively little reference to the special institutional forms in which the fact was expressed. This is to be seen in the purely theoretical way in which, both in France and America, institutional details were discussed, and even experimented with, with no reference to the experience of England.

To show how the newer form of ministerial responsibility entered the constitution, a brief outline of the middle period of its history is necessary, and this will also show, as I believe, the historical independence of the modern principle of the medieval experiments and its organic relation with the fundamental principle of *Magna Carta*.

If we go back to the close of the Middle Ages, or better to the beginning of the seventeenth century, for at the close of the Middle Ages proper the accumulation of precedent essential in the final result was not complete, we shall find, as is well known, an impossible constitutional situation. At the accession of James I., there was upon one side a great body of history and precedent in support of the king's claim to govern by his own will. At the same date, there was upon the other side a great body of history and precedent in support of Parliament's claim that the king was bound to regard a certain body of law and custom in his action.<sup>10</sup> This situation may be described in other terms which bring out more clearly its relation to our theme. England of the twelfth century was an absolute monarchy with no constitutional limitation except that vaguely implied in the fundamental contract of feudalism, and no machinery for the expression of a will opposed to that of the king except the primitive and ineffective *curia regis*. The natural development of this absolute monarchy into a final constitution was broken into by *Magna Carta* which transformed the feudal interpretation of the contract relationship between the king and his barons into a general principle (the king may be compelled to keep the law) capable of far wider application and of expansion without change of substance to fit the needs of the expanding national life. From the date of *Magna Carta* on to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the two currents of constitutional development thus begun appear alternately upon the surface. The principles of a limited monarchy are

<sup>10</sup> In addition there had appeared in the sixteenth century an important development of theory in support of such a claim in the idea of the divine right of the king. Theoretical support for Parliament's position was much less clearly developed at the beginning of the seventeenth century than for the king's, and a most interesting part of the history of that century is the gradual formation of this theory. This comes, I think, to its first full and clear expression in the resolutions of January 4, 1649, justifying the action of the House of Commons in proceeding single-handed with the trial of the king: "That the people are, under God, the original of all just power; that the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation; that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of King or House of Peers be not had thereunto." Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, IV. 290.

enlarging and clarifying themselves until they are virtually complete in the fifteenth century, and the absolute monarchy is forced constantly into narrower channels by the concessions it must every now and then make to the increased weight of the opposing current. Down to the death of Elizabeth, however, much the larger portion of the past had been occupied by practical absolutism, while, except in the granting of taxes and in legislation, the limited monarchy existed rather in undeveloped principles. But these principles were so truly the result of experiment and experience that an imposing body of precedent could also be cited to justify their expansion in new applications.<sup>11</sup>

These two contradictory interpretations of the constitution stood over against one another in 1603. The issue between them had never been drawn. Since the working out of the limited monarchy and the establishment of its principles in 1399,<sup>12</sup> the two had never entered the field together. Each in turn had had possession for a long period, and government had been carried on according to it with no serious interruption from the other. The Lancastrian period, "startlingly and prematurely modern", is in fundamental principles, though these had not been worked out in all details, an age of constitutional monarchy. The Yorkist and Tudor periods form an age of practical absolutism, though an absolutism which for its own convenience made use of some of the machinery of a

<sup>11</sup> See an interesting instance of the citation of precedents on this side quoted by Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History* (seventh ed., 1911), p. 432, and there attributed to Sir Robert Cotton: "We do not desire, as 5 Henry IV., or 29 Henry VI., the removing from about the King any evil counsellors. We do not request a choice by name, as 14 Edward II., 3, 5, 11 Richard II., 8 Henry IV., or 31 Henry VI.; nor to swear them in Parliament, as 35 Edward I., 9 Edward II., or 5 Richard II.; or to line them out their directions of rule, as 43 Henry III. and 8 Henry VI.; or desire that which Henry III. did promise in his 42nd year, *se acta omnia per assensum magnatum de concilio suo electorum, et sine eorum assensu nihil.*" On the attribution of this speech and the question of its delivery see S. R. Gardiner, *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625* (Camden Society, 1873), pp. xx-xxiii, and *History of England*, V. 425, note (ten-vol. ed., 1883), and cf. Forster, *Sir John Eliot* (1872), pp. 243-250. If it be true that "this speech was not spoken but intended", the sentence is still a good example of the way in which precedents were used on the parliamentary side.

<sup>12</sup> It is no exaggeration to say that after the Revolution of 1399 the English constitution was in existence so far as all its fundamental principles are concerned. Much had still to be done in finding out all that those principles implied and this was the work of the seventeenth century; much had still to be done in applying them consistently to the details of government, especially in the control of finance, in the independence of the judiciary, and in the directing of foreign policy; and much had still to be done in devising machinery for their practical operation, and of this the chief instance is the cabinet with ministerial responsibility.

constitutional monarchy and in so doing strengthened and confirmed it.

With the accession of James I. we enter upon a period of constitutional growth new in character to all English history, if we except the brief struggle under Richard II. On his side the king was determined that the constitution should be operated according to his interpretation of it and on its side Parliament was equally determined that its interpretation should prevail. From such an issue only two results were possible. It might be that one interpretation should prevail to the exclusion of the other, or it might be that a workable compromise should be found between them. It is not necessary for our purpose to follow the struggle between these conflicting ideals; it is necessary to see that the result was a workable compromise between them of which the essential feature was destined in the end to be the modern responsible ministry.

Let us state the result with reference to 1660 and following years, rather than with reference to the past. The struggle with Charles I. established finally and forever the principle that actual sovereignty, the right and power of ultimate decision, was vested in Parliament as representing the nation. How completely this fundamental question had been decided in Parliament's favor is revealed by the unanimity, almost without exception, with which the nation rallied to the support of that decision when the final test came in 1688. But although this was the result established in reality, it was not the result established in form. Parliament was not able, or did not wish, to render permanent all that the Puritan party had accomplished, or felt itself obliged to attempt, in the change of government forms. The last period of the Protectorate saw a strong reaction in favor of the monarchy as the historical and natural government of the state, and the result was the restoration of the Stuarts without constitutional guarantees.<sup>13</sup> In form such a settlement left the issue between the two conflicting constitutional interpretations of 1603 undecided. In reality it had been decided in favor of the parliamentary interpretation, and Charles II. was perhaps even more conscious of this fact than was Parliament itself.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This is of course the great difference between the settlement of 1660 and that of 1668-1669. The experience of the intervening years convinced the nation that the king must be far more definitely and specifically bound than ever before to a faithful observance of the fundamental public law as it then stood. The guarantees of 1688 included, however, no pledge to any form of constitutional machinery by which the sovereignty of Parliament, its right of ultimate decision, was to be practically exercised.

<sup>14</sup> The form in which the compromise is stated by the modern constitutional lawyer (sovereignty resides in the king in his Parliament) is exceedingly interest-

That the settlement of 1660 was a compromise needs hardly to be proved. That it was unexpressed and unnoticed, made not by negotiation but by the force of events, does not make it less truly a compromise. On one side the form was surrendered but what proved in the end to be the reality retained; on the other the reality was given up but the surrender was disguised under the appearance of power and, more than that, for a long time under the actual exercise of very substantial powers and the permanent possession of important rights and influence. It was more than a hundred years before all that the compromise implied was clearly recognized and the balance established at its present level. But the compromise was really made at the Restoration, though it was afterwards so seriously attacked by James II. that it needed to be reaffirmed in more definite form in 1689.

Constitutionally the result was something new to all the experience of history: in form sovereignty was vested in the king, in reality it was vested in Parliament, and the problem of carrying out such a settlement in practical government, though no one was conscious of it at the time, was a most serious one. Naturally, as a new thing in the world, no machinery existed by which sovereignty could be exercised in practice by a representative body while in form it remained the prerogative of the individual monarch.<sup>15</sup> By

ing. One is instantly reminded by it of the declaration of the Long Parliament that "the King's supreme and royal pleasure is exercised and declared in this High Court of law and council, after a more eminent and obligatory manner than it can be by personal act or resolution of his own" (Gardiner, *Documents*, p. 257). But as a formulation of the compromise of 1660, the phrase is as correct as it is interesting.

<sup>15</sup> The want of any machinery for carrying out in the practical working of government the compromise between king and Parliament and the difficulty of inventing satisfactory forms are clearly shown in the experimenting which went on in the reign of Charles II. as described in the books and articles referred to in note 1. Particularly interesting are some of the expedients adopted from their similarity to methods employed in Washington during the past thirty years in efforts to bring the influence of the executive to bear on legislation. See especially the passage quoted by Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 260, from the *Continuation of the Life of Clarendon*, §395: "These ministers [Clarendon and Southampton] 'had every day conference with some select persons of the house of commons, who had always served the king, and upon that account had great interest in that assembly, and in regard of the experience they had and their good parts were hearkened to with reverence. And with those they consulted in what method to proceed in disposing the house, sometimes to propose, sometimes to consent to what should be most necessary to the public; and by them to assign parts to other men, whom they found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired: and all this without any noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to parliaments, and, however it may succeed for a little time, will in the end be attended with prejudice.'"

the mercy of Providence Charles II. possessed, probably an inheritance from his mother's house, a degree of tact and political insight which makes him an exceptional Stuart. As a consequence the fundamental contradiction was never drawn out into a square issue in his reign. When a Parliament, usually subservient, reached a point beyond which it would not go, as in the case of the Declarations of Indulgence, the king yielded, and in spite of all the practical control of government which he succeeded in gaining, the power of ultimate decision remained with Parliament. He was forced to the same conclusion to which his grandfather and father had been forced, that, if he wished to govern by his own will, he must govern without a Parliament. To the end of the reign of Charles II. there was no development of new machinery by which the compromise as to sovereignty could be carried into practical operation. As a matter of fact the compromise worked in practice imperfectly and rather because of the caution and restraint of the king than because it was clearly understood or institutionally expressed. The king chose his own ministers and controlled their policy and did not concern himself with Parliament's approval of them nor consistently with Parliament's approval of his policy, and he was still the real executive. On its side Parliament knew no way of exercising its power of final decision, except by making a square issue with the king, nor of holding the king's servant responsible except by asserting a direct responsibility enforced by the old practice of impeachment.

In the next reign the king proceeded so rapidly and with so little judgment to re-establish a personal government that the old issue was speedily drawn again and as sharply as in 1642. Only one result was possible, for practically the whole nation was determined to maintain the settlement of 1660 so far as that was a settlement of the fundamental question of the supremacy of Parliament. Had constitutional machinery been devised during the reign of Charles II. for exercising that supremacy in practice, it would undoubtedly have been included in the settlement of 1689. But it had not been, and indeed in 1689 it was only the fundamental principle of parliamentary supremacy that was in any sense apprehended. Neither the range of its application to the operation of actual government, nor the method of its application, were yet understood, nor was the latter, which is the principle of ministerial responsibility applied to the cabinet, clearly understood for another century.

With the accession of William III. we enter again upon a new epoch of English constitutional history. The fundamental question at issue between Parliament and the Stuarts, where does sovereignty



reside in the English state, had been settled never to be raised again. The most characteristic feature of the new age was not a question of fundamental principles or of general interpretation, but it was progress in devising machinery by means of which the decision of the fundamental question which had been already reached was to be put into practical operation in the details of government. No more than a beginning was made during the reign of William III. and, so far as any clear consciousness of what was really going on is concerned, there was not even a beginning. In truth considerable progress was made during that reign and the next towards what was ultimately to be the result, the responsible ministry, but the progress of the period shows itself wholly upon the side of practical affairs, not at all in ideas or understanding. William III. still retained a very decided control over the conduct of government, particularly in foreign affairs, and over the choice of ministers. He never dreamed of allowing Parliament any voice direct or indirect in this latter matter. He made a beginning, however, through practical experience upon the lesson which was more fully learned in the next reign, that the easiest way to accomplish what he desired, the line of least resistance in carrying out his policy, was to choose his chief ministers from those political leaders who were best able to secure the support of Parliament. This was a most important discovery. I am not asserting that its bearings were as yet understood. It was not as yet a matter of principle but of mere momentary convenience, but it was in truth the germ from which grew the later doctrine of ministerial responsibility with all its applications in the present constitution.<sup>16</sup>

This change may be described in other terms. In the reign of Charles II. *impéachment*, representing the old form of ministerial responsibility, was a survival, in the scientific sense of the word, destined speedily to disappear, and the new and modern form was foreshadowed on its institutional side in the experiments to find a

<sup>16</sup> The cabinet and the responsible ministry are coming into existence at about the same time and by parallel lines of development. The origin of the cabinet need not be here discussed, but that it can be traced, as the beginning of a continuous growth, to any period before the reign of Charles II. seems to me exceedingly doubtful. It will be understood, I think, without special discussion that the existence of a cabinet does not carry with it the idea or practice of ministerial responsibility, as it does not in the United States, and that the two are independent in origin. I must emphasize here again, however, as I have elsewhere in regard to the origin of the representative system and of taxation, the necessity of distinguishing in constitutional history between ideas and the institutions in which they are embodied, or by means of which they are operated practically. The two are often in origin and early development quite independent of one another and the failure of the historian to notice the distinction often results in unnecessary confusion and difficulty.



mediating, harmonizing body between king and Parliament. Of these Sir William Temple's proposed reorganization of the Privy Council is the most famous, but it is not the one from which the modern form developed. That came more directly from the disliked and suspected ministerial clique which the king himself formed, but rather from that as it was re-established under William III. than from Charles II.'s. The birth of the idea of ministerial responsibility on the other hand can hardly be traced back so far and is to be found coming into existence very slowly after the beginning of the eighteenth century, though the idea was in a sense involved in such an experiment as Sir William Temple's.

How wholly unconscious was the real development which was going on at that time is strikingly recorded in the Act of Settlement of the last year of William's reign. In clauses IV. and VI. of that document, as is well known, Parliament attempted to destroy the beginnings of the cabinet system in order to protect what it believed to be its means of enforcing responsibility and, if those clauses had been put into force, would have succeeded. That is to say Parliament had so little conception of how best to realize its own supremacy that it deliberately tried, in the interest of an obsolete method, to end the line of progress which was bringing in the most effective means ever devised, or apparently devisable, for operating a republic under the forms of a monarchy.

The continued ongoing of a development not understood by the statesmen of the time but showing itself more and more plainly in the facts is the most interesting feature of eighteenth-century constitutional history. The fortunate accident that foreigners came to the throne who did not know the effect of what was occurring upon their position or, if they suspected it, did not know how to prevent it, combined with the fact that statesmen and observers were equally ignorant, secured half a century of growth perfectly natural, undisturbed either by opponents or theorists. How modern the result was becoming is shown by a series of facts occurring toward the middle and end of the period, and how unnoticed it was is equally shown by the isolated character of these facts, that they were not even thought of by any one as common characteristics of a single constitutional result.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The first two reigns of the House of Hanover form a period more important in the development of the cabinet than of the idea of ministerial responsibility; in fact the very smoothness of cabinet development to the fall of Sir Robert Walpole probably hindered to some extent any clear understanding of the relationship which should exist between the cabinet and the legislature, or of the way in which the legislature might control government policy and administration through its control of the cabinet. If, however, there was apparently

The character of the result is also shown by another fact which the eighteenth century could not understand but the meaning of which is clear to us, the dropping of impeachment as a parliamentary weapon.<sup>18</sup> There is no case of impeachment in the old sense after the close of the struggle with the Stuarts. Contemporaries believed that the impeachment of Somers and his fellows in 1701 for their share in the Partition Treaty was an instance of its use for the old purpose, but plainly it was not, nor was any later impeachment or proposed impeachment.<sup>19</sup> It is hardly necessary but it serves the purpose of this discussion to state the reason why. Impeachment had been devised in the struggle between king and Parliament over the old issue, the seat of sovereignty in the state. Its purpose was, exactly like that of clause 61 of Magna Carta and every other expedient of the old type, to hold the king to a real responsibility without the danger of civil war and revolution which would result in those centuries, and perhaps at any time, from holding him to a formal responsibility. For this purpose it was the most effective of all the older expedients, though all of them were in a way successful when the king did not obstinately insist upon his own responsibility. But that issue was now settled. It never reappeared after the Revolution of 1688. The real issues were no longer those of a fundamental interpretation of the constitution between king and Parliament, but those of purpose and policy in the daily operation of government between the leaders of groups of opinion in the nation whose equal loyalty to the constitution was un-

little progress in the understanding of the facts, there was a steady drift in the facts themselves towards the principle that the cabinet must be in harmony with Parliament, or with the public opinion of the country. This is the meaning of the fall of Walpole in 1742, of the failure of Granville to form a ministry, and of the appointment of Pitt to the ministry in 1746, against the will of the king, as well as of the circumstances of his final accession to the cabinet about ten years later, to go no farther.

<sup>18</sup> How puzzled contemporaries were by the changes which were going on is shown by the debates on responsibility which occurred in the generation following the Revolution. Parliament is vaguely conscious that its old weapons to enforce responsibility are out of date and useless, but is utterly at a loss to understand what to employ in their place. The reason why impeachment became obsolete is exactly the same as the reason why the royal veto did in the same period. In one case the reasons are regarded from the side of Parliament, in the other from the side of the king. Conflict of the old sort between executive and legislature, requiring the use of either weapon, was no longer possible. Conflicts of the new age were between phases of public opinion represented by parties in the legislature and both nominal and real executive were wholly dependent upon the legislative result.

<sup>19</sup> Hallam says that these impeachments "have generally been reckoned a disgraceful instance of party spirit". See *Constitutional History* (1854), III. 144-145, 230. It may be added that the practice of withholding supplies as a means of coercion has also been practically abandoned for the same reason.

consciously accepted early in the period. In such a situation it was instinctively felt that it was an unworthy use of a party advantage to subject the leaders of the opposite side to a criminal prosecution and, though it was not yet seen what could be used in its place to enforce responsibility, impeachment was tacitly dropped.<sup>20</sup>

With the accession of George III. there came to the throne a king who, if he did not understand the cabinet system as we do, understood at least what its growth had cost the crown. It is significant of the great change which had come about in a century that George III.'s attempt to recover power was not an attack upon the settlement of 1660, it was no attempt to raise again the issue of the fundamental interpretation of the constitution, but it was an attack upon the results achieved since the death of William III. Neither king nor cabinet understood, however, during the first period of the reign the full meaning of the new institution. Had it been understood, had ministerial responsibility of the modern type existed then, it is no exaggeration to say that the American Revolution would not have occurred. But the ministry of Lord North was the real accomplishment of the king's purpose, and a real return to the situation under William III., when the king determined the

<sup>20</sup> The only coercion of the executive which any one would now think possible is the coercion of a cabinet which refused to yield to any of the ordinary means of discipline. Until the day of revolution comes, this would surely be coercion in a party conflict, that is, upon a question of public policy, not upon a fundamental constitutional issue. Such constitutional questions as have seemed to arise in the last hundred years have not been questions of the fundamental nature of the constitution as a whole but of the date, degree, and method of further advance in a development to which in general the constitution was already committed. I believe this to be essentially true of the questions raised on the passage of the Parliament Act, though the changes which it has made are of far-reaching importance.

The outside observer is tempted to believe that the tendencies of British political life during the past twenty years, with the great majorities returned in parliamentary elections, the growing strictness of party bonds, and the probable effect of some of the legislation adopted, have been away from the supposition which lies at the basis of ministerial responsibility, the supposition that members of the House of Commons who have supported the cabinet on one measure will vote against it on another. It would seem hardly possible that this tendency should go much farther without destroying ministerial responsibility of the old type and making the cabinet the absolute master of Parliament. While undoubtedly ministerial responsibility, as it existed thirty years ago, secures a more democratic government than the American system, with its complete separation of executive and legislature, that is, a government which yields more quickly to changes of public opinion, if the result suggested above should occur it would then be open to question whether the American system, with its more frequent congressional elections, would not prove more democratic. It is interesting to note that during the same period, the past thirty years, the direct influence of the President upon congressional legislation has increased very greatly though by methods that are indirect.

policy of the government and the business of the cabinet was to carry out his policy under a direct responsibility to him and only a secondary responsibility to Parliament. The failure of the attempt to bring the colonies back to their allegiance was also the failure of this last attempt of all to interfere with the natural development of the constitution.

It is my belief that the event which had the greatest influence in bringing the public mind of Britain to an understanding of the cabinet system and the modern principle of ministerial responsibility was the struggle of the younger Pitt to maintain himself against a hostile House of Commons. He succeeded but his success rendered another like it impossible. But this was not even then an immediate understanding. Full understanding comes slowly and gradually, by an unconscious process of reflection, not by revelation, through the next twenty-five years. Two incidents between 1784 and the close of the century show how incomplete the understanding still was. Three years after Pitt's triumph the Constitution of the United States was framed by a large assembly of the most experienced public men and students of politics in America, who considered with care the problem of setting up a government to operate in the best way. One great problem before them, set by the situation of the time, was to secure a really effective executive while leaving ultimate authority in the legislature as representing the people, exactly the problem which ministerial responsibility solves. In their Constitution, however, not merely did they entirely separate the executive and legislative departments,<sup>21</sup> but they gave little attention to the cabinet, and they seem to have had no idea whatever of ministerial responsibility. It seems altogether probable that they thought that in this respect they were following the English model, as beyond question they did when they adopted impeachment, and certainly, had there existed in England any such definite idea of ministerial responsibility as fifty years later, there would have been some dis-

<sup>21</sup> The practical result of the English cabinet system, though a result never theoretically desired or intended, is a union of the executive and the legislature. That this result was not foreseen when the first steps towards it were taken in the second half of the seventeenth century is evident from the ideas of Clarendon and Locke on the separation of the departments of government. On Clarendon see Carlyle, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 252-253, and on Locke the second *Treatise*, chs. XII. and XIII. Locke's ideas no doubt had a good deal of weight in America, but if the European cabinet system had been generally understood the advantages of that system as compared with Locke's ideas would, it is likely, have been carefully considered and the resulting decision in America would have been at least doubtful. See the thorough study of the Convention's attitude towards a cabinet in Learned, *The President's Cabinet*, ch. II., and cf. Farrand, *Framing of the Constitution*, pp. 166, 171.

cussion of it in the Convention. The other incident is even more indicative of English understanding. In 1791 Parliament under the leadership of Pitt's ministry framed a new government for Canada. The debate on the bill shows conclusively that the desire was to give to Canada the same kind of government which England had, and I think there can be no question but that this was honestly intended. And yet no responsible ministry was granted, or even proposed, and the foundation was laid for the later Canadian rebellion which opened a new era in British colonial government.<sup>22</sup>

It is from the opening years of the nineteenth century that we must date a full understanding of the cabinet system and of the way in which ministerial responsibility is enforced through it, though even then the understanding was rather that of practical action than of theoretical description.<sup>23</sup> It was not until about the middle of the century that descriptions of the system were written that seem satisfactory to us, and well past the middle before any treatise was published upon the new constitution as a whole.

The conclusion from this outline sketch seems inevitable. The break between the medieval form of ministerial responsibility and the modern was complete. In the period from 1688 to 1714 the new was beginning to take shape, but the old had in every real sense already disappeared. Contemporaries were wholly ignorant of what the new was to be, but they felt that the old was gone. They discussed the evil case in which they were left, they sought to find some way of holding ministers responsible, they even tried to revive the old method, but their discussions and attempts led to nothing.<sup>24</sup> The new came into existence without regard to their efforts and

<sup>22</sup> See my paper, "The Influence of the American Revolution on England's Government of her Colonies", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1896, I. 373-389; *Lord Durham's Report* (ed. Sir C. P. Lucas, 1912), vol. I., chs. III., IV., and V., vol. II., pp. 76-82, 277-285; F. Bradshaw, *Self-Government in Canada* (1903); A. B. Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (1912), pt. I., ch. I.

<sup>23</sup> See the account of the literature in Learned, pp. 37 ff. Even so acute a student of constitutional history as Hallam did not clearly understand the change which had been made by the cabinet system, and did not later modify the statements of his first edition of 1827. *Const. Hist.* (1854), III. 183-185; (first ed., London, 1827), II. 535-539. A considerable influence in the development of nineteenth-century opinion and understanding was the discussion in England between 1830 and 1840 of the Canadian demands and Lord Durham's *Report* of 1839.

<sup>24</sup> See Anson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 63. Direct coercion of the king was even thought of: "Harley after reminding his hearers that they had their negative voice as the King had his, and that, if His Majesty refused them redress, they could refuse him money, moved that they should go up to the Throne not, as usual, with a Humble Address, but with a Representation". Macaulay, ch. XX., vol. IV. (1858), pp. 483-484.

by the force of events which they did not understand. But it grew neither out of the old issue between king and Parliament, nor out of the old forms of coercion. Its origin is to be found in the efforts to work in daily government the compromise made in 1660. The English cabinet is a piece of machinery devised for operating a government in which sovereignty, and therefore the real executive, is actually vested in a legislative assembly while in form it is vested in a personal monarch. Ministerial responsibility, operated by what we call party government, is the method of coercion applied in such a constitution to the actual, not to the theoretical, executive. It has for its object not merely to compel the executive to regard the fundamental law of the state, which is a principle now so thoroughly established that it is never likely to be questioned, but also to carry out in the details of government the policy which Parliament decides upon. In one sense, in the sense of every-day practical action, it may be said to have taken the place of the older principle of the right to coerce the king, but in truth it is that principle applied to the real executive and the older form still exists in the background of the constitution, and conceivably might be called into action in some revolutionary age.

If it is true that the limited monarchy is derived from the principle introduced into English history by Magna Carta, that the king may be compelled to observe the fundamental law of the state, then both the medieval and the modern forms of coercion, though independent of one another, belong equally in that line of development.<sup>25</sup> The struggle of the seventeenth century was the last struggle of the absolute monarchy to maintain itself against the limited monarchy. From the side of the limited monarchy it was a period when the foundation and final defense of that form of constitution, in the will of the people expressed through their representatives, came to be apprehended. But all alike, the triumph of limited monarchy, the discovery of its scientific justification, and the machinery invented to carry it into practice, belong historically in the direct line of evolution begun by Magna Carta, are later stages of the development which first dates from it.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

<sup>25</sup> If any one will read the Bill of Rights with the thought consciously in mind that the fundamental principle introduced into the English constitution by Magna Carta was that the king must keep the law and that if he will not he may be forced to do so, I believe it will be at once clear that, in spite of all the changes of form and method in the interval, there had been no change in this fundamental principle. It is, in the simple form in which I have stated it, the obvious foundation on which the Bill of Rights rests, and which it almost states in so many words.



## ANGLO-FRENCH COMMERCIAL RIVALRY, 1700-1750: THE WESTERN PHASE, II.

BEFORE 1700 the problem of French competition with England in the commercial world of the West had not become sufficiently prominent to demand a solution, but in the eighteenth century important changes took place which materially altered the situation. The area of the French sugar-producing colonies was enlarged by the addition of new territory, notably a considerable portion of the island of Santo Domingo or Hispaniola, where the soils were "new, vastly extended, incomparably more fertile, and easier of cultivation than any other Sugar Country in the World".<sup>1</sup> The French government at home gave renewed encouragement to its sugar colonies, transported planters and aided them to subsist, paid the salaries of their governors, and took care to strengthen and secure their settlements against attack. By new edicts it permitted the colonists to carry their sugars directly to Spain, thus ensuring further shipment to Italy and even to Turkey.<sup>2</sup> In consequence, the French output of sugar and its by-products was doubled and trebled and the demand of the French colonies for lumber, live-stock, and provisions became correspondingly great. Until this time the northern British colonies had been accustomed to send their surplus products to the southern continental colonies or to the

<sup>1</sup> Robertson, *An Enquiry into the Methods that are said to be now proposed in England to retrieve the Sugar Trade* (1733), p. 7. In its representation of January 14, 1735, the Board of Trade said that the worn-out state of Barbadoes required more labor and laborers than the fresh lands of Hispaniola and other islands (p. 14, printed copy). The circumstances of the French occupation of the island are given as follows: "The French first Settled on a small Island called Tobago, near the N. W. End of the Island of St. Domingo, and finding vast tracts of Land Uncultivated, opposite to them, they made bold to Remove and to take possession of that part which was of no use or disregarded by the Spaniards, who at first despised the Encroachments of the French or thought it not worth their while to dispossess them; or whether by mere negligence or other mistakes of that Indolent Nation they omitted to Suppress them when they might easily have done it. They are now become very numerous, in Actual possession of  $\frac{3}{4}$  parts of the Island and in a few Years will in all probability entirely dispossess the Spaniards." "Observations on St. Domingo commonly called Hispaniola", by James Knight, October 21, 1740. British Museum, Add. MSS. 32695, f. 309. The French even tried to seize Jamaica in 1694, but were unsuccessful. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1693-1696, §§ 1236 r., 1410.

<sup>2</sup> Robertson, *A Supplement to the Detection of the State and Situation of the Present Sugar Planters of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands* (1733), pp. 16-18, 62-63.

British West Indies, thus fulfilling their mercantilist function as purveyors of supplemental staples to the British tropical and semi-tropical colonies. But this carefully adjusted equilibrium could not be maintained, as colonial conditions refused to remain stationary and the Northern Colonies refused to confine their activities to "such Produce, Trade, and Manufactures as are most for the Benefit of Great Britain" or to be diverted from raising more "of Cattle and Provisions than are needful or convenient for themselves".<sup>3</sup> The growth of the northern British colonies and the increase in production of lumber, livestock, and provisions destroyed the balance, and the rise of new economic conditions and trade requirements rendered inevitable the overthrow of this part of the mercantilist scheme. The surplus products of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania had to find a wider market and as they were not wanted in England, it is hardly surprising that the quick-witted traders of the North should have discovered the profitable opportunities that the needs of the French sugar colonies furnished.

According to every contemporary account all the British sugar

<sup>3</sup> To the mercantilist, England seemed criminally negligent in having allowed the Northern Colonies "to employ themselves so long in such Trade and Labours as it is evident interfere with her own essential Interests". They would have preferred that England should compel the colonies to expend all surplus energy in producing hemp, flax, silk, iron, potash, copper, and naval stores, instead of devoting it to raising provisions, livestock, and lumber. Robertson, *A Supplement*, pp. 49-51; *An Enquiry*, pp. 9-10. It is, of course, well known that the Board of Trade made many efforts to persuade the Northern Colonies to produce the staples desired by the mercantilists. The most noteworthy effort of this kind was in 1734, when the House of Lords adopted a resolution of its committee recommending that the Board of Trade be instructed to report on the encouragements necessary "to engage the Inhabitants of the British Colonies on the Continent of America to apply their Industry to the Cultivation of Naval Stores of all Kinds and likewise of such other Products as may be proper for the Soil of the said Colonies, and do not interfere with the Trade or Produce of Great Britain" (*Lords Journal*, XXIV. 412). Acting on this order, the board wrote a circular letter to the colonies asking for the desired information, and on January 14, 1735, sent to the House of Lords a representation "Relating to the State of the British Islands in America. . . . As likewise to such Encouragements as may be necessary to engage the Inhabitants", etc. (printed, manuscript copy in C. O. 324: 12, pp. 79-120). In this representation the board suggested that Parliament pass measures to encourage in the plantations the production of naval stores, wine, hemp, flax, silk, iron, pot and pearl ashes, and certain drugs (p. 17), and this Parliament did in the case of silk, indigo, and pot and pearl ashes. Varying quantities of tar, pitch, turpentine, potash, flax-seed, and iron were exported to England and Ireland. Whale oil, also, was in demand at home and a small amount of indigo was sent over. The latter came mostly from the French West Indies, notably Hispaniola, but it is interesting to observe that Connecticut, acting on the recommendation of Parliament, endeavored to promote its cultivation in the colony. Conn. Arch., Foreign Correspondence, II., doc. 163a.

islands, except Jamaica, were declining, and their demand, which even in times of prosperity would not have been sufficient to take off the entire output of the Northern Colonies, was unable to keep pace with the supply. The New Englanders could sell to the French more cheaply than could the merchants of France and had a monopoly of the trade as long as the French island market was not glutted.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand they could buy more cheaply in the French and Dutch West India market, where the foreign planters, with only a one per cent. export duty to meet, were better off than the English with their eighteen pence per hundred plantation duty of 1672 and their four and a half per cent. export duty of 1663, and where French sugars were rated from twenty-five to thirty per cent. cheaper than were those of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands.<sup>5</sup> Molasses, too, they could obtain for about what they were willing to pay, as it was a commodity practically worthless to the French. The value of this trade, in which the French could undersell the British planters, was so great that the governors of the French islands were authorized to issue at their discretion permits for trade to masters of colonial and British vessels, purchasable at prices dependent on the value of the cargo.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the agreement entered into in 1686 between England and France that the subjects of the one were not to frequent the ports

<sup>4</sup> Provisions brought in French ships, belonging to Nantes, Bordeaux, and other French cities, generally came from Ireland. Robertson repudiates the assertion that lumber, horses, or provisions could be furnished "at a tolerable price" from any of the French settlements in Canada or the Mississippi region. "Let them try to procure their Lumber from those places", he says, "if they can". *A Supplement*, p. 25. One of the objections raised by the Northern Colonies to the first Molasses Bill, that of 1731, was that if the French were prevented from trading with these colonies as the bill proposed, they would build up Canada and Cape Breton as provision and lumber supplying regions, and in so doing strengthen French control in Canada to the serious danger of the British colonies to the southward.

<sup>5</sup> Lieut.-Gov. Nanfan of New York bought sugars at Martinique twenty-five per cent. cheaper than they were rated at Barbadoes. Robertson and others reported the difference at thirty per cent. *A Supplement*, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> This fact was brought out in the inquiry before the House of Commons (*Commons Journal*, XXI. 686). Ample additional testimony exists. "There has been sixteen to twenty New England Vessels at Martinico at a time, each of which had a writing purporting a permission to sell." "This trade is permitted by the French government, as well because the French planters have no other way to dispose of their Rum and Molasses as because the French can't be supplied with Horses and Lumber from any other places but the English Northern Colonies." *Observations on the Case of the Northern Colonies* (1731), pp. 27-28, 29. For a detailed statement of the cost of raising sugar in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, see Robertson, *A Detection of the State and Situation of the Present Sugar Planters of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands* (1732), pp. 40-49.

of, or trade with, the other, or in any manner to interfere with the commerce belonging to the subjects of the other,<sup>7</sup> this trade attained large proportions. We hear of "unlawful trade with the French" as early as 1700,<sup>8</sup> and so zealous were certain of the island governors to observe and execute the instructions given them in this particular that they even caused British ships trading with the French islands to be seized and condemned.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, whenever the French islands found themselves sufficiently stocked with staples from the north or the wheat harvest in France was sufficiently bountiful, they were wont to seize vessels from Ireland and the Northern Colonies in order to check what they called, when it was advantageous to do so, a contraband trade.<sup>10</sup> This trade customarily took two forms. The northern colonists might sell their produce to the British West Indies for cash and passing on, purchase their return cargo from the French islands, a traffic estimated at one-third to one-half of the whole; or they might carry their horses, building materials, and provisions, and other plantation necessities directly to the French or other foreign islands and there exchange them either for cash or more frequently for sugar, molasses, and rum.<sup>11</sup> In either case, the loss fell on the British West

<sup>7</sup> "Treaty of Peace, Good Correspondence, and Neutrality in America", Whitehall, November 6/16, 1686, §§ 5, 6. Printed in full, *Commons Journal*, XXI. 713-715.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1700, § 789.

<sup>9</sup> "Their Lordships observing that the Governors have so farr mistaken the Sense of the said Articles and their Instructions grounded thereon as to proceed to the Condemnation of the Ships and Cargoes belonging to His Majestys Subjects under pretence of their having Contravened the said Articles by Trading to the French Plantations, which was not the Sense of those Articles, which could only entitle His Majestys Governors to Condemn French Ships Trading to our Plantations, there being no Law to Justify the Condemnation of Ships belonging to His Majestys Subjects for such Trade." *Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, vol. III., § 149; see also *ibid.*, § 405.

<sup>10</sup> "The traders of our Northern Colonies wou'd not come near any English Island in the West Indies, if it were not that the French, when glutted with Lumber, Horses, and Provisions, prohibit all farther commerce with them." Robertson, *A Supplement*, pp. 21, 41.

<sup>11</sup> Capt. Penmure of the Rhode Island sloop *Charming Polly*, according to an extant sailing agreement of 1752, was to go first to St. Vincent, then to Dominica, and then to St. Eustatius, selling his cargo as he could, for cash if possible, but for goods if such only could be obtained in exchange. In the latter case all goods were to be disposed of for cash at St. Eustatius, and with only money in hand, he was to go to Hispaniola and there buy indigo, muscovado, and molasses for the home voyage. At this time (1752) neither St. Vincent nor Dominica were British islands, being supposedly neutral according to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, St. Eustatius was Dutch, and Hispaniola was part Spanish and part French. The agreement authorized the captain to secure a "French pass". *Commerce of Rhode Island* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., seventh series), IX. 60-61.

Indian planters, denuding them of their coin,<sup>12</sup> of which they had none too much, or cutting into their market for sugar and depriving them of their needed supply of provisions and lumber. The situation was a very undesirable one from the point of view of the British sugar planter, and equally unsatisfactory from the point of view of the British customs, for all "dead" commodities exported from the French islands to the northern British colonies meant to the British exchequer a loss by just so much of the four and a half per cent. and the plantation duties.<sup>13</sup>

Hispaniola rivalled St. Eustatius as an entrepôt for foreign commodities. "En general son Commerce Consiste en sucres blancs et bruts, Indigos Caffees, Cuirs, et quelques autres effets de peu de Consequence; comme Tabac Caret Gingembre, etc. Mais une grande Branche de son commerce, consiste encore en Marchandises seches de France, comme toiles, Chapeaux D'orures, Etoffes de Soye, etc. que les Espagnols y Viennent achepter, et qu'ils paient en or et en argent." From a long and valuable account of Santo Domingo, entitled "Lettre a [M. Mildmay] sur le commerce present de St. Domingue et l'Etat present de Cette Colonie" (Paris, May, 1751), Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 32828, ff. 72-77 b. Mildmay was one of the English commissioners sent to Paris in 1750 to settle the Acadian question. His colleague was Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts. The writer of the letter is not certainly known, but he had been for a long time a resident of the southern part of the island, f. 73.

<sup>12</sup> "The great Prices of our Commodities, with Respect of the other Colonies about us, tempt the Irish, Northern, and other Traders, to carry off our Gold and light Silver to those Colonies, where they can buy the same Commodities, at a cheaper Rate, with our Money. . . . This Condition of our Affairs has been the Cause of carrying away our Silver, while we had any, it being the most beneficial Part of our Currency for most Purposes." *Caribbeana*, I. 135 (Barbadoes). For Barbadoes the annual drain of specie was estimated at £85,000 stg.; *Present State of the British Sugar Colonies Considered*, p. 23. For Jamaica at £64,977 stg. "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Scarcity of Money", pp. 21-22 (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 30163), a work that contains an exceptionally good statement of the influence of the Northern trade upon the financial situation in the island. Robertson discusses the question for the Leeward Islands but does not give figures.

<sup>13</sup> "This trade tends to the Encrease and Improvement of the Foreign Sugar Colonies and the decrease of our own and is at present very prejudicial to His Majesty's Revenue; for without this Trade, the Sugar, Rum, and Molasses consumed in the Northern Colonies would be Exported from the English Sugar Colonies and pay His Majesty not only a duty of 4½ per cent. but also the Enumerated Duty as we call it, which is a duty of 18 pence per hundred paid the King for all Sugars exported to our Colonies. The Quantity of Sugars imported to our Colonies from the French and Dutch is so great that they send a great deal of it to England as the Produce of our Colonies. By which means His Majesty is not only defrauded of the Double Duty, but also of the Enumerated Duty supposed to have been paid upon this first Exportation from the Colony where they were made." Letter from W. Gordon to the Board of Trade, August 17, 1720, C. O. 5:867, W. 110.

This trade in all its manifold aspects is discussed at length by the pamphleteers of the period and a list of such writings will be given in a later note. One of the fairest and least contentious of the writers is Robertson, a planter of Nevis, who had resided on that island since 1706, and, in the years from

The growth of this trade from 1713<sup>14</sup> to 1730 became so rapid as to alarm the British merchants and planters, particularly in Barbadoes, the centre of resistance to the French encroachment. The attention of the home authorities was called to the calamitous condition of the planters, and in 1724 the Privy Council ordered the Board of Trade to prepare a full state of the sugar and tobacco trades.<sup>15</sup> Four years later it instructed the same body to consider "what Laws it may be reasonable to pass in the Severall Plantations for restraining his Majesty's Subjects from Importing into the British Plantations such products of the French Plantations as may interfere with the British Trade".<sup>16</sup> In the meantime the Barbadians had begun a determined campaign of their own. They formed an organization, raised funds which they transmitted to London,<sup>17</sup> and despatched representatives to act there in conjunction with the agents of the colony. They invited the planters of the Leeward Islands to join in the movement, offering to meet all expenses. In 1730 and 1731 the matter was brought to the immediate attention of the Privy Council in a series of petitions from the "Planters, Traders, and other Inhabitants" of Barbadoes and the "several Merchant Planters and others interested in and trading to His

1727 to 1733, wrote a series of letters to the Bishop of London, a member of Parliament, and a gentleman of London, that were printed. The titles are *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London* (1730), with *A Short Essay concerning the Conversion of the Negro-Slaves in our Sugar Colonies* (written in June, 1727), *A Detection* (already cited), *A Supplement to the Detection* (already cited), *An Enquiry* (already cited), and *A Short Account of the Hurricane* (1733), which contains (pp. 26-28) a statement of the conditions under which the pamphlets were written. These pamphlets present an admirable defense of the case of the sugar planters, with special reference to the Leeward Islands.

In *A Short View of the Smuggling Trade carried on by the British Northern Colonies in Violation of the Acts of Navigation and several other Acts of Parliament* may be found a characteristic survey of the general situation, with sections on "Some of the Ill Consequences arising from this Trade to Great Britain" (p. 2), "Some of the Ill Consequences arising from this Trade to the Sugar Colonies" (pp. 2-3), and "Benefits which Great Britain may derive to herself and her Sugar Colonies by putting an Effectual Stop to this Trade" (pp. 3-4). The only copy of this paper that I have seen is in the British Museum. It is undated.

<sup>14</sup> Robertson traces the French encouragement of the trade to the years immediately following the treaty of Utrecht. *A Supplement*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>15</sup> The Board of Trade, in reply to this order, sent in an elaborate report dated July 24, 1724, *Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, vol. III., § 62. A copy of the complete report may be found in C. O. 5:389, 28, pp. 175-219.

<sup>16</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, III. 193.

<sup>17</sup> "I believe the Barbads people would give or expend at le[a]st £2000 sterlg to obtain their end." Partridge to Gov. Jencks of Rhode Island, August 23, 1731, Kimball, *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island*, I. 20.



Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America". At the same time agents and representatives of the northern British colonies appeared to defend their side of the case. The borough authorities of Liverpool upheld the cause of the Sugar Colonies, while the merchants of Dublin naturally took the part of the Northern Colonies. Exasperated by frequent postponements of the hearing before the Privy Council, and convinced that the Sugar Colonies were "engaged in a mortal Combat with those of Foreign Nations" and that no "quacking and palliative Medicines" would suffice, the Barbadians and their allies finally decided to seek directly the aid of the British Parliament.<sup>18</sup> On March 30, 1731, they withdrew their petition to the king, announcing that they had made application to Parliament for relief "in the Matters complained of in their said Petitions".<sup>19</sup> In so doing they expressed not only their discontent with the procedure of the Privy Council, but also their agreement with a rapidly growing conviction in England and the colonies that an act of Parliament was a more "certain and effectual" means of gaining relief in matters colonial and commercial than was an order in Council,<sup>20</sup> which could do nothing more than authorize the passing of remedial legislation by the colonies themselves.

The appeal to Parliament was at first unsuccessful. The government, with manifest reluctance and a lively realization of the issues involved, brought the matter before the House of Commons in the form of a bill for securing and encouraging the trade of the British West Indies. This bill was planned as a blow at the French sugar trade, and was designed to check and turn back if possible the French invasion of the British colonial market. It declared that no sugar, rum, or molasses of the plantations of foreign nations should be imported into Great Britain or Ireland or any of the king's dominions in America under penalty of forfeiture; and that no horses or lumber should be carried to the foreign sugar colonies. As a prohibitive measure, this bill was a true mercantilist device,

<sup>18</sup> *Caribbeana*, I. 83, 85, 195. "Nothing can help our desperate Case, but a thorough Regulation of the whole Habit. The British Parliament must be our Physician." *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136. Robertson takes the same position when he approves of the statement, "The Disease of the British Sugar Colonies will gangrene by a Palliative Cure." *A Supplement*, p. 75.

<sup>19</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, vol. III., § 222.

<sup>20</sup> For a situation that was not dissimilar, see my article on "The Connecticut Intestacy Law" in *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*, I. 456-458, especially p. 458, note 2. Even the committee of the whole Council, reporting in 1725 on the salary question in Massachusetts, acknowledged the failure of the royal authority, as expressed in the governors' instructions, and advised the king "to order this whole Matter to be laid before the Parliament of Great Britain". *Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, III. 111.

for though the merchants and planters were ready to present a dozen minor remedies for the relief of the sugar trade, they were all agreed that complete prohibition was the only certain method of attaining the desired end. On the plea of their own necessity and the welfare of the mother-country they sought to control by means of parliamentary legislation a course of trade that was the natural and inevitable outcome of the agricultural and commercial life of the northern British colonies.

The struggle that followed was exciting. The supporters of the bill declared that the British sugar islands were in a languishing condition, their export of sugar diminished, their duties high, their plantations understocked, their planters poor, their soil worn out, and their fortifications destroyed.<sup>21</sup> They acknowledged that the French islands contained fresher sugar land than the British, were more fruitful, better inhabited, paid less duties, and had greater encouragement from the home country.<sup>22</sup> But, they maintained, the British islands were a source of great profit to England and must be protected, else they would steadily deteriorate and might eventually pass into the hands of the French themselves. For, as Robertson expressed it, "this Contest is not as some weak People imagine and some selfish People would have us all to think, a Contest between the British Southern and Northern Colonies, but between Great Britain and France, which of the two shall be Mistress of the Foreign Sugar Trade." "We are contending", he continued, "with the united Forces of our Nation's Rivals in the Sugar Trade and the Practices of our too selfish Sister Colonies on the Continent."<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, the opponents of the measure asserted that the passage of the bill would ruin the Bread Colonies by diminishing the supply and raising the price of tropical staples desired by the

<sup>21</sup> A resident of Jamaica, writing about 1750 (the work already noted, entitled "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Scarcity of Money"), took a much more hopeful view of the future of that island than others took of the future of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. He wished to clear up the "melancholy prospect" of Jamaica that prevailed in England. Nevertheless, on the general situation and the trade of the Northern Colonies he is in accord with the others. The statement in the text is based on opinions common to all the writers of the period and needs no special proof in the way of citations. Among the House of Lords manuscripts are a number of petitions, for and against the bill, some of which were sent up from the Plantation Office. Andrews and Davenport, *Guide*, pp. 204-209, nos. 110, 113, 117, 119, 138.

<sup>22</sup> The Jamaican writer mentions among "the many other good Regulations and Encouragements of the French Committee of commerce" the bounty of 9s. 2d. per head allowed by the French king on negroes imported, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> *A Supplement*, pp. 53-54, 55; *An Enquiry*, p. 20. Cf. Winnington's speech in the House of Commons, *Parliamentary History*, VIII. 993.

New Englanders, and by cutting off the market for the northern staples would glut the demand and lower the price in the West Indies. Should the bill pass, they insisted, the Northern Colonies would certainly suffer in their wealth and prosperity, would become the slaves and bondsmen of the Sugar Colonies, and be reduced to the status of purveyors without independent economic and commercial life.<sup>24</sup> Turning on the supporters of the bill, they declared that the present situation was due not so much to the decline of the islands as to the sumptuous and extravagant habits of the planters, and to the fact that owners of plantations resident in England, a number far too large for the good of the colonies, wished to continue the large profits that enabled them to play the part they desired in English social and political life.<sup>25</sup> In other words, they

<sup>24</sup> Herein lay the crucial point of the dispute. The mercantilists who upheld the cause of the Sugar Islands saw in an independent economic life for the Northern Colonies a menace to the prosperity of the mother-country. In this particular, at least, the views of the disputants were irreconcilable. The danger to England of foreign success in the race for territory or the race for markets is a factor to be reckoned with in our colonial history. Just as the relations with Spain to 1660 and with Holland to 1675 affected colonial affairs of the seventeenth century, so the rivalry with France to 1763 influenced the colonial policy of the Board of Trade and determined many of the measures introduced into Parliament that concerned the colonies in the first half of the eighteenth century even, including the bills designed to bring the proprietary and corporate colonies immediately under the authority of the crown. The traditional view of colonial history cannot but err in its estimate of British purpose when it ignores the larger issues upon which British policy rested. Fears of French commercial supremacy governed very materially the attitude of British statesmen, officials, legislators, and merchants toward matters colonial during the years from 1700 to 1750, and a knowledge of this fact clears up many things hitherto overlooked or inadequately explained.

<sup>25</sup> That many of the British West Indian planters were extravagant in their dress and mode of living seems amply attested, but how far the luxurious life of individual planters was responsible for the existing situation is not so clear. The Jamaican ("An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Scarcity of Money") has much to say on this point. He speaks of "our extravagances, which consist mostly of costly liquors of foreign growth and French fineries", p. 51, and he estimates that £50,000 was annually expended in luxury, which was "a great drain on the wealth of the island", pp. 92-93.

More important was the question of absentee-planters. This question was deemed so vital to the welfare of the colonies that from 1730 to 1764 acts were passed, notably in Jamaica, but also in Antigua and St. Christopher, imposing a double tax on absentees. The Board of Trade recommended that these acts be disallowed as unjust and improper. *Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, vol. III., § 557, p. 739, vol. IV., § 48, vol. VI., §§ 457, 461, 465, 471, 473, 588. In the Jamaican's paper appears the following item, "To so much allowed to be drained off the country by absentees, for Lodgements and for the Education of the Youth in Engd. 200,000", pp. 95-96. A visitor to Antigua in 1774 speaks of the numbers of absentees "that leave this little paradise and throw away vast sums of money in London, where they are either entirely overlooked, or ridiculed for an extravagance which after all does not raise them to a level with hundreds

said, the British West Indian sugar planters asked to be favored at the expense of the remainder of the colonial world;<sup>26</sup> and if they were so favored then England would lose the Bread Colonies as a vent for her manufactures, because the latter would have no money wherewith to buy English goods.

To the last group of arguments the mercantilists replied with equal spirit. They declared that the charges of extravagance and luxury, made by Joshua Gee, the agents of the Northern Colonies, and the pamphleteers, were based on ignorance of the actual balance sheets of the sugar plantations, and that in fact the bulk of the sugar planters were so far from being opulent that not a few of them were in debt in England and the greater part of the plantations considerably understocked in "hands" as well as other neces-

sary around them. Antigua has more proprietors, however, than any of the other islands; St. Christophers, they tell me, is almost abandoned to overseers and managers, owing to the amazing fortunes that belong to individuals, who almost all reside in England." Brit. Mus., Egerton 2423, pp. 111-112. This statement regarding St. Christopher is confirmed by a letter of April 5, 1780, in which it is said that "in Antigua, being poorer than St. Kitts, most of the landed proprietors live on the island because they cannot afford to live in England, whereas at St. Kitts, there are mostly managers". Oliver, *History of Antigua*, I. cxxiv. The practice was a very old one and dates back to the beginning of West Indian history. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, p. 159. Robertson speaks of "those who have estates in the Leeward Islands and live in England themselves (of which there are several in and about London)", and he notes a member of the Board of Trade who "in right of his Lady, became owner of a plantation in the island of Nevis", *A Detection*, p. 50. Abraham Redwood, of Newport, Rhode Island, who founded the Redwood Library there and gave 100 Spanish milled dollars to the poor of the town, had a plantation in Antigua. *Commerce of Rhode Island* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., seventh series), IX. 1-64; Oliver, *History of Antigua*, III. 43-46.

<sup>26</sup> That self-interest underlay the arguments of the Barbadians and Leeward Islanders is manifest and not surprising. A similar self-interest underlay the attitude of the Northern Colonies toward the Navigation Acts as a whole. The same conflict of interests may be seen in the objections raised by the British West India merchants to the grant of Tobago in 1728 to the Duke of Montagu, on the ground that new plantations tended to reduce the price of sugar (*Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, VI. 197), a curious objection in view of the frequent arguments at this time in favor of extending the area of British sugar planting in the West Indies (Robertson, *A Supplement*, pp. 60-61, 69-70). The same conflict may be seen in the attempt of Barbadian planters to stop the New England trade to Surinam in 1714, because they deemed it detrimental to the British sugar plantations and to the trade and navigation of the kingdom (*Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, vol. II., § 1200). Thomas Banister of Boston showed clearly the value of the Surinam trade to New England; and so evident was the injustice of stopping it, that Parliament refused to interfere (*New York Col. Docs.*, V. 597; Letter of W. Gordon, C. O. 5: 867, W 110; *A Short Essay on the Principal Branches of the Trade of New England, with the Difficulties they labour under and some Methods of Improvement*, by T[homas] B[anister] (London, 1715), pp. 12-13. The original draft of this essay, which is in the form of a letter to the Board of Trade, is in C. O. 5: 866, V 91.

saries for carrying on the sugar manufacture.<sup>27</sup> They insisted that the Northern Colonies were in fact what the tropical colonies were falsely said to be, very rich, and that the conduct of the latter in "dissembling, what they are has perhaps turned as much to their private advantage, as our folly in boasting of what we never were, has injured both us and our Mother Nation". As to the Northern Colonies obtaining their supply of hard money by this trade, the planters denied the assertion with emphasis, claiming that the money obtained from the British islands was laid out in the purchase of commodities at the French islands, and that not one penny of it was carried back to New England, New York, or Philadelphia, or remitted to England. And as to favoring one part of the colonial world more than another, the bill was designed to benefit the commerce of Great Britain and to advance the welfare of the colonies that were of most importance to her, and no one could deny that in this respect the sugar trade and the Sugar Colonies were deserving of greater attention than the provision trade and the Bread Colonies.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The only British colony in the West Indies that was able to obtain a sufficient stock of good slaves was Barbadoes. The Leeward Islands and Jamaica were always understocked, and even in Barbadoes it was claimed that the best negroes went to the French and Spanish plantations, partly because the French controlled the richest areas of supply and partly because the French and Spanish were able to offer better prices on account of the steadily increasing demand. Furthermore it was reported that the soil in Hispaniola was so rich that the planters could do more with one slave than could be done with four at Jamaica (*Commons Journal*, XXI. 687). On the other hand, Knight said that the negroes in Hispaniola had "very little affection to their Masters, by reason of their severity and the hard labour they put them to" (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 32695, f. 310). The letter to Mildmay, already cited, devotes considerable space to the negro trade of Hispaniola (*ibid.*, 32828, ff. 74b-76), and Robertson in his *Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London* treats of the understocking of the British sugar plantations.

<sup>28</sup> The literature of this discussion, both in print and in manuscript, is very extensive, but the arguments are often far from convincing. "In each case", to quote a comment made on trade quarrels in England at an earlier date, "both parties had an interest in representing their own trade as languishing through the prosperity of their opponents, while the opponents retorted that they themselves were not half so prosperous as was made out." *Social England*, IV. 122. The following list is representative but not exhaustive. *The Case of the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire and the Colonies of Rhode Island with Providence Plantations, and Connecticut in New England, and the Province of New Jersey, with respect to the Bill now depending in the Honourable House of Commons, intituled a Bill for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America* (1731); *The Case of the British Northern Colonies* (1731); *Observations on the Case of the British Northern Colonies* (1731); "A Letter on the Bill now depending in Parliament", in *The Free Briton*, April 15, 1731; a letter to *The Daily Post Boy*, March 6, 1731; *The Importance of the British Sugar Plantations in America*

The bill of 1731, though passed by the House of Commons and debated in the House of Lords, was finally dropped altogether.<sup>29</sup> This event is a landmark in the history of the relations not only between England and France, but also between England and her continental colonies in America. It marked the first important failure of that phase of the mercantilist policy which rated the colonies furnishing tropical products more highly than those taking off manufactured articles,<sup>30</sup> and it began the tilting of the balance in favor of the Bread Colonies, a movement slow in its consummation, and not completed till 1763 when Guadeloupe was returned to France and Canada retained. It marked the first failure of a de-

to this Kingdom, with the State of their Trade and Methods for Improving it (1731); *A Short Answer* (to the same), in a *Letter to a Noble Peer* (1731); *The Present State of the British Sugar Islands Considered, in a Letter from a Gentleman of Barbadoes to his Friend in London* (1731); *The British Empire in America Considered*, in a second letter from the same (1732); *The Controversy between the Northern Colonies and the Sugar Islands respectively Considered* (1732?); *Arguments against the Bill for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America* (unsigned and undated, but either 1731 or 1732); and the various writings of Robertson, already cited. All of these pamphlets were written to uphold or oppose the bills of 1731 and 1733, but later letters and papers, issued during the continuance of the controversy, 1733-1763, repeat many of the same arguments. See also the representations of the Board of Trade to Parliament, February 1, 1733 (printed, manuscript copy in C. O. 5: 5, ff. 1-24), January 23, 1734 (printed, manuscript copy in C. O. 324: 12, pp. 7-72), and January 14, 1735 (printed, manuscript copies in C. O. 5: 5, ff. 102-123, and 324: 12, pp. 79-120). For the last two, see Andrews and Davenport, *Guide*, p. 208. An excellent résumé of the arguments is given in Salmon, *Modern History*, III. 624-632 (1739).

<sup>29</sup> The petition from the Sugar Colonies was discussed in Parliament and evidence taken, February 23, 1731 (*Commons Journal*, XXI. 641; 685-689; *Parliamentary History*, VIII. 856-857). The bill was debated January 28, 1732 (*Commons Journal*, XXI. 782; *Parl. Hist.*, VIII. 918-921); and February 23 (*Commons Journal*, XXI. 811; *Parl. Hist.*, VIII. 992-1002), and went to committee in March. It was passed March 15, by a vote of 110 to 37 (*Commons Journal*, XXI. 849), and carried to the Lords the next day (*Lords Journal*, XXIV. 52). There it went to the select committee on the 17th, and on the 21st the agents of the colonies were given a hearing (pp. 54, 58-59). It reached the committee stage on the same day, and representations, returns, and statistics were called for (pp. 59, 60, 64, 67-68). On March 31 it passed the second reading (p. 77). More information was required, and on April 25 petitions were received (Andrews and Davenport, *Guide*, pp. 204-205), and agents and others heard (*Lords Journal*, XXIV. 97-98). Further consideration was postponed first till May 3 and then for a month, but when the time came Parliament had been prorogued.

<sup>30</sup> The advantages of the Northern Colonies as a source of supply, a vent for manufactures, and a territory capable of indefinite development were all rated of no profit to Great Britain, and far less deserving of consideration than the one asset of the sugar trade. The mercantilist deemed a tract of land greater than could be "either cultivated or defended" a menace, not an advantage.



liberate act of commercial warfare, which would certainly have been passed against France and other foreign nations in the West Indies, had not mercantilism already lost something of its power and had not the Bread Colonies already attained such strength that their welfare could not be ignored. The bill of 1731 was upheld not only by the governor, agents, and merchants of Barbadoes, and by the sugar planters resident in London and the outports, but also by the Board of Trade, the auditor general of the plantation revenues,<sup>31</sup> and a large majority of the members of the House of Commons. Despite the failure of the bill to pass the House of Lords, the debates and hearings in committee show that the mercantilist doctrines were still uppermost in England.

In 1733 the planters returned to the attack and this time they were successful. The new measure, endorsed by a special representation sent from the Board of Trade to the House of Commons, was accepted by the House of Lords, because it omitted the objectionable features of the first bill, and finally became a law.<sup>32</sup> Thus, after a discussion lasting not less than ten years, the famous Molasses Act of 1733 came into existence. But it was, from the standpoint of the true mercantilist, an emasculated measure, in that it conceded the very principle which the bill of 1731 had denied, the right of traffic between the British Bread Colonies and the foreign Sugar Colonies. Sugar, rum, and molasses, under heavy duties, might be imported into the northern continental colonies, and horses and lumber might be exported without restraint into the French, Dutch, and Danish West Indies. It is true that the duties imposed were judged to be tantamount to a prohibition, so that even in its modified form the measure was a blow aimed at the commercial encroachments of the French, but the act did allow the Northern Col-

<sup>31</sup> The auditor, Horatio Walpole, seconded the motion to commit the bill, February 23, 1732 (*Parl. Hist.*, VIII. 995). He also introduced the bill of 1733 (*Commons Journal*, XXII. 71), made a speech, and offered an amendment (*Parl. Hist.*, VIII. 1197).

<sup>32</sup> Parliament met in new session, January 16, 1733. The question was debated February 21 (*Commons Journal*, XXII. 54; *Parl. Hist.*, VIII. 1195-1199), and reported favorably by committee, February 22 (*Commons Journal*, XXII. 55-56). The bill was brought in March 5, was debated (*Commons Journal*, XXII. 79; *Parl. Hist.*, VIII. 1261), and passed the second reading (*Commons Journal*, XXII. 83). On March 21 it passed the House of Commons (p. 99) and was sent to the Lords April 3 (*Lords Journal*, XXIV. 223). There it was debated April 12 (p. 231) and April 23 (p. 242), and passed the second reading April 23 (p. 243). It then went to the committee of the whole House (p. 244), from which it was reported without amendment, May 1 (p. 252). It was passed, May 4, referred back to the House of Commons, May 7, and received the royal consent, May 17. The law was passed for five years only, but was renewed by 11 George II., c. 18; 19 George II., c. 23; 26 George II., c. 32; 29 George II., c. 26; 31 George II., c. 36; and 1 George III., c. 9, till 1763.

onies to export all but the enumerated commodities to the foreign West Indies, thus favoring these colonies as far as possible. At best it was but a half-way measure, unsatisfactory to the mercantilists, because it was not prohibitory, and burdensome to the Northern Colonies, because it restrained, or tried to restrain, their freedom of commercial intercourse. Its promoters might have realized that liberty of export without a direct importation in return would not benefit the Northern Colonies, and that if right of export were allowed by law, a direct import would be secured by evasion.<sup>33</sup> In almost every particular the Molasses Act proved a failure. It probably did nothing to injure the prosperity of the French colonies, if we are to believe John Bennett's account of the situation in 1736.<sup>34</sup> It profited little to the advantage of Great Britain, because it did not materially increase the customs revenue and fell short of meeting the expense of collecting the duties imposed.<sup>35</sup> It failed to answer the needs and expectations of the British West Indian planters because it did not go far enough. And, finally, it checked but slightly the export of French sugars to the northern British colonies because it was consistently evaded from the first.<sup>36</sup>

The sequel demonstrates the truth of these conclusions. The

<sup>33</sup> Partridge, the agent of Rhode Island, wrote to Deputy Governor Wanton, "In the present Bill they have left out the Restriction of sending Horses and Lumber to the Foreign Plantations but we think in a Manner this is as bad as the old Bill for to what Purpose will it be to have Liberty to send away our Commodities if we cannot have Returns for them?" Kimball, *Correspondence*, I. 23-24.

<sup>34</sup> See John Bennett's pamphlet, below note 37.

<sup>35</sup> The Jamaican writing in 1750 (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 30163) estimated the returns from the eighteen pence plantation duty at only £675 a year from Jamaica, a relatively insignificant sum. In 1754 the statement was made that the duty on all sugars from the British West Indies to the Northern Colonies came to no more than £1500 a year, showing an export of only 1400 hhds. of British sugar. So small an amount made it clear that a great deal of French and Dutch sugar was used by the Northern Colonies. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 34729, f. 355. In 1765 the Treasury informed the Privy Council that the revenue arising from the "Duties of Customs imposed on your Majestys Subjects in America and the West Indies . . . is very small and inconsiderable, having in no degree increased with the Commerce of those Countries, and is not yet sufficient to defray a fourth Part of the Expence necessary for collecting it." *Acts of the Privy Council*, Col., IV. 569.

<sup>36</sup> "I am sorry to observe that the Duties imposed thereby on Foreign Rum and Molasses are evaded, and the Design of that well intended Law totally eluded; so that instead of being beneficial, it is like to prove in some Respects fatal to these Colonies and their Trade. 'Tis notorious that most of the Northern Traders who come hither, and to the Leeward Islands, do now sell their Cargoes, or such Part thereof, as is most in Demand, for ready Money. This they carry off, and rendezvouze sometimes 40 Sail at a Time at St. Eustatia, a Dutch Settlement in the Center of the Leeward and Virgin-Islands, where great Quantities of the Commodities I am speaking of, are constantly lodged for Sale, which they purchase to load their Vessels, without either Fear or Restraint,

effects of the act were slight. Conditions after 1733 were but little changed from what they had been before. The West Indian planters were not satisfied with the terms and demanded further concessions. They sent in petitions to the Board of Trade, wrote pamphlets,<sup>37</sup> encouraged lobbying by the colonial agents, and made the Jamaica Coffee House, Cornhill, the centre of an active propaganda. They complained forcibly of the incumbrances and charges still left upon the West Indian trade, comparing their own decline to the prosperity of the French islands and ascribing it to many causes. Chief among these were the enumeration of sugar<sup>38</sup> and

whereby we do not only lose the Sale of those Species, but are, at the same Time, drained of our Cash." Letter dated from Barbadoes, March 2, 1735, *Caribbeana*, II. 129.

"We are disappointed of the good Effect expected from the Act for better securing, and encouraging the Trade of His Majestys Sugar Colonies in America, by the Northern Traders, who still carry it on." By the same writer, May 22, 1736. *Ibid.*, pp. 161.

The Jamaican writing in 1750 speaks of the "Norward Traders smuggling with the French" as "proved by matters of Fact strongly attested", *Brit. Mus., Add. MSS.* 30163, p. 23; and see below, note 50, for the action of the traders in 1752.

<sup>37</sup> The most important pamphlets of this period are by John Ashley, a planter of Barbadoes, entitled *The Sugar Trade with the Incumbrances laid open* (1734) and *Some Observations on a direct Exportation of Sugar from the British Islands, with Answers to Mr. Torriano's Objections* (1735). The "Mr. Torriano" referred to was Nathaniel Torriano, a merchant of London, who had sent a long letter, dated August 8, 1724, in which he presented arguments against relieving the Sugar Colonies of the obligation to send their sugars to England. Later, Ashley published another pamphlet entitled *Memoirs and Considerations on the Trade and Revenue of the British Colonies in America* (1740). One should consult also John Bennett, *Four Letters concerning the flourishing Condition, large Export, and prodigious Increase of the French Sugar Colonies; the Poverty, Weakness, and Decay of the British Sugar Colonies, and their vast Importance to the Trade, Navigation, Wealth, and Power of this Nation* (1736).

<sup>38</sup> Gee pointed out in 1721 the burden of the enumeration as follows: "If a merchant sends out a ship from London with a cargo to the Sugar Islands to barter against Sugar, he brings this sugar to London, the charges of freight, landing, housing, wastage, etc., may amount to 9 s. per hundred; if he ship it off to Spain or the Straits, the freight, wastage, etc., may amount to 4 s. and 6 d. per hundred more. But if he can carry it directly from the Sugar Islands to Spain or the Straits, it will scarcely exceed 6 s. per hundred. If the sugar dont sell for above 20 s. per hundred, the merchant loses by this round-about voyage nearly forty per cent." Memorial to the Board of Trade, October 27, 1721, *C. O.* 323: 8, L 24. Ashley computed the difference at thirty per cent. and Robertson does the same, *A Supplement*, p. 16; *An Enquiry*, p. 17. Dr. Pitman calls my attention to the existence in London of a Sugar Trust, the United Company of Grocers and Sugar Bakers, which upheld enumeration as placing the planters more or less at its mercy. Petitions against enumeration were presented to the House of Commons on March 31, 1735 (*Commons Journal*, XXII. 439), and the subject was debated at considerable length. Calls were made for statistical returns and other evidence, including Torriano's letter of 1724 (pp. 444, 449-450, 451, 457, 488, 549-550, 590, 618), but the bill itself was not presented until 1739. See note 40.

the high duties in England upon all tropical staples, sugar, cocoa, coffee, and ginger. They declared with great justice that Great Britain's policy was illiberal and her regulation of trade selfish as compared with that of the French government, which by the decrees of 1726 and 1727 allowed free export to Spain and the Straits. They warned the British authorities that just as France already controlled the indigo trade, so would her merchants soon monopolize other tropical staples, if free export were not permitted and the duties lowered. Other causes were assigned for the prevailing depression, but these two were deemed by all the *fons et origo mali*.

The matter came up in Parliament in 1739. The West Indian planters recommended the passage of a bill allowing general and free exportation, reductions of duty and excise, remission of the four and a half per cent., direct trade with Ireland, and further relief in the re-exporting of refined sugar. But it was manifest to all that no bill could pass embodying such terms as these. The Board of Trade had already recommended a limited freedom of trade<sup>39</sup> and the House of Commons was ready to make a limited concession. During the course of the debate there was a call for all kinds of information bearing on the subject. The Treasury, the Commissioners of Customs, the Board of Trade, and the Victualling Board were ordered to furnish statistics. Protests were heard and petitions read from sugar refiners, merchants, ship-owners, shipwrights, ship-chandlers, and others, not only of London but also of Liverpool, Whitehaven, and other ports and manufacturing centres, against free exportation, consequently the terms of the bill were modified and only a restricted freedom granted.<sup>40</sup> The bill as finally

<sup>39</sup> "With respect to the charges of our Navigation, it would be impossible to give our Traders any relief in this particular, without breaking thro' some established customs, and making great alterations in several laws, by which many general charges have been imposed upon shipping, for the repairs of Peers and Lighthouses; but they have long been desirous of carrying their sugars directly to all the European markets, to the southward of Cape Finisterre; and we would humbly submit it to your Lordships, whether such a Liberty might not be granted under proper Restriction." *Representation from the Board of Trade to the House of Lords*, January 14, 1735, p. 14. For Cape Finisterre as marking the southern boundary of the British Seas, see Fuller, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 502, 510, 515, 519, 521.

<sup>40</sup> *Commons Journal*, XXIII. 284, 292, 297, 298, 318, 329, 338-339, 340, 343, 344, 349, 351, 361, 365-366, 368, 370, 372-373; amended by the Lords, p. 378. For statistics collected by the Treasury, see Andrews, *Guide*, II. 248-249. For the various reports and petitions, Andrews and Davenport, *Guide*, pp. 211-212. It is worthy of note that in the course of the debate one of the French decrees of 1726 was read from Gee's *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered*, and it is probable that Gee's opinions on the general subject, as stated in that work (pp. 43-53), were given due weight.

passed<sup>41</sup> permitted West Indian planters to send their sugar, but sugar only, to foreign ports south of Cape Finisterre, in ships built in and sailing from Great Britain and navigated according to law. As by this bill sugar was placed in the same class with rice, we have here another instance of the gradual breaking down of the strict mercantilist policy in favor of the Northern Colonies. But the measure as a whole was so clogged with restrictions as to be of little benefit to the sugar planters.<sup>42</sup> It excluded colonial-built ships, which could always carry more cheaply than those of England; it imposed a burdensome licensing system; it required that a ship discharging her lading south of Cape Finisterre should return by way of England, under the terms of the act of 1663; and it admitted no direct trade with Ireland. The chief grievance, however, was the confining of the foreign market to the least desirable parts of the European world. The best sugar markets were in the north, not in the south where the French and Portuguese had control of the trade. The benefits of the law were slight.<sup>43</sup> The

<sup>41</sup> 12 George II., c. 30.

<sup>42</sup> "There has lately been past an Act in the Thirteenth of the present King, entitled An Act for granting a Liberty to carry Sugars, . . . But the Legislature thought it necessary to clog it with such Restrictions that we do not find it is like to prove of any great Benefit to the Sugar-Colonies; and indeed many of the Merchants were at first clear of Opinion that it would not, which, however, the Planters on the other Hand were ready to impute to Views of Self-Interest, in respect to Commissions." *Caribbeana*, II. 62, note. That the Northern Colonies deemed it detrimental to their interests also may be inferred from the comment of Gov. Wanton of Rhode Island in writing to Gov. Belcher of Massachusetts. "I am desired by our General Assembly to acquaint Your Excelcy That a Vote is pass'd directing our Agent in Conjunction with the others strenuously to oppose at the next Session of Parliament the new additional Act relating to the Sugar Colonies in the W. Indies, which if pass'd will prove extremely prejudicial and hurtful to the Trade of all the Northern Colonies, and therefore desire That Your Excelcy will please to move it to Your Genl Court That proper Instructions might be given for that purpose." November 12, 1739. Kimball, *Correspondence*, I. 123. An identical letter was sent to the governor of Connecticut, *Talcott Papers* (Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.), V. 186.

<sup>43</sup> Though the preamble to the act of 1742 declared that the act of 1739 had proved "very beneficial to the colonies", the evidence in the case does not bear out this statement. Dr. Pitman says that it resulted in very little actual trade in sugar directly to the Continent, though it did raise prices in England and enhanced somewhat the power and influence of the West Indian planters residing there. Proof of this may be found in the debates on the proposed increase of the sugar duty in 1744, when a bill to that effect was defeated in Parliament (*Parl. Hist.*, XIII. 640-641, 652-655). Arguments against this proposed duty, which continued imminent even after defeat, can be found in *The State of the Sugar Trade* (1747), which shows "the dangerous consequences that must attend any additional duty thereon", and asserts that the planters gained nothing from the rise of prices. Dr. Pitman shows that the licenses required by the act of 1739 were a serious obstacle and were little utilized, only forty-eight being taken out from 1739 to 1753, and of these but five were used, by Jamaica

French competition appeared to increase unchecked, and the restrictions upon the sugar trade seemed as burdensome as before. During the decade that followed but two concessions were made by the British Parliament to the continued demands of the Sugar Islands. In 1742 colonial-built ships were admitted to the privileges of the act of 1739,<sup>44</sup> and in 1748, the drawback on sugar, refined in Great Britain and exported to the Continent, was increased,<sup>45</sup> a measure manifestly passed quite as much in the interest of the sugar refiners as of the sugar planters. England persistently refused to lower her duties or to ameliorate in any way the burden of the four and a half per cent., though the colonists for a century had urged her to do so,<sup>46</sup> beginning their organized attack as early as 1732 upon the coffee duty and continuing to the end of the period.<sup>47</sup> Decker once said, "'Tis our own covetous folly that can undo us", and there is much in England's commercial policy of the eighteenth century to demonstrate the truth of this remark.

The situation in 1750 was to the mercantilists no better than it had been in 1731. The latter were ready to prove that the British traders in North America had for years carried on a large and extensive trade not only with the foreign colonies in America but with the French and Dutch in Europe directly; that they imported vast quantities of sugar, rum, and molasses yearly from the French and Dutch sugar colonies into the northern British colonies in direct violation of the Molasses Act, and had carried this trade to such a height as to purchase vessels destined for this trade only, of which there were three hundred employed annually, and to settle correspondents and factors in the French islands to facilitate this commerce; that they carried on this trade with and for the benefit of France, to the injury of the British Sugar Colonies, draining them

and Barbadoes planters only. The general situation at this time is summed up in *The Present State of the British and French Trade to Africa and America considered and compared, with some Propositions in favour of the Trade of Great Britain* (1745), and in *A Letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Importance of our Sugar Colonies to Great Britain, by a Gentleman who resided in America* (1745). The titles of other pamphlets of this period are given in the first part of this paper, note 44.

<sup>44</sup> 15 George II. c. 35, § 5.

<sup>45</sup> 21 George II. c. 2, § 7. See a paper in Public Record Office, Treasury 1, 331.

<sup>46</sup> Wood wrote in 1718, "It is certain that the high duties are such a weight upon the Industry of our Merchants, that it hinders us from Enlarging our Trade to the utmost it might otherwise be capable of. Therefore it may deserve Consideration, whether if parts of the customs were taken off, of some sorts of imported Goods, and of all our Manufactures exported, it might not be very beneficial to the Nation." *Survey of Trade*, p. 219.

<sup>47</sup> *Commons Journal*, XXI. 829, 845-846, 855, 866, 869, 911.



of their money which was spent in the foreign colonies for tropical products, or for European and East Indian commodities that should have been obtained only through English ports; and lastly, that they went so far as to lend themselves to the corrupting influence of the foreign planters and to become instruments for introducing foreign sugars, under the denomination and disguise of British, into Great Britain itself.<sup>48</sup> In 1750 the assembly of Jamaica sent a remonstrance to England against this trade. In February, 1752, a committee of eight, representing a group of merchant planters in England, appeared before the Board of Trade and at the same time sent a petition to the Treasury, asserting that there were then under seizure by the custom house officers at the port of Bristol sugars entered as British from New York, that were really and bona fide from the French colonies. These men begged that a bill be presented in Parliament for the purpose of prohibiting entirely this traffic, thus reverting to the purpose of the measure defeated twenty years before.<sup>49</sup> But the effort failed. The Privy Council, instead of advising a resort to Parliament for a repeal of the Molasses Act and the reconsideration of the defeated measure of 1731, contented itself with writing a circular letter to all the governors of the Sugar Colonies directing them "to use their best endeavours to procure the passage of [colonial laws] containing regulations for preventing this illicit and clandestine traffic".<sup>50</sup> It was an innocuous and nerveless device for evading responsibility, and

<sup>48</sup> Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 33030, ff. 401-402, "State of an Illegal and Clandestine Trade carried on by the British Northern Colonies in America". Similar statements are made in the Jamaican's account, "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Scarcity of Money", Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 30163, ff. 23-24. The sending of French sugars for British was complained of as early as 1720. See above, note 13.

<sup>49</sup> Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 34729, f. 350. A draft of the bill, which was designed to take effect in 1755, is given on ff. 352-353, and is followed by reasons in its support. The latter attempt to show that the traffic was carried on on a vast scale and that all sugars exported from the Northern Colonies must be French, ff. 354-355. The original petition to the Treasury is in Public Record Office, Treasury 1: 338.

<sup>50</sup> The relations between the northern British colonies and the French and Dutch West India colonies from 1756 to 1763 do not concern us here. Acting on the authority of the Privy Council's instruction, the assembly of Jamaica passed an act in 1752, re-enacted it in 1756, and passed it again in 1759, prohibiting absolutely the importation of all foreign sugar, rum, and molasses, thus endeavoring to accomplish locally what it had hoped Parliament would do for all the Sugar Colonies. In 1762 the same assembly passed an explanatory act, making such importation a felony and punishable with death without benefit of clergy. It is needless to say that the Board of Trade strongly recommended the disallowance of these acts (C. O. 138: 22, pp. 190-239), but they are important as showing the intense feeling prevailing on this subject in the British West Indies. *Acts of the Privy Council, Col.*, IV. 517-518.

to the West Indian planters it must have seemed but the "palliative cure" of which they had been afraid in 1731.

The act of 1733 and the supplemental measures that followed from 1739 to 1752 were weak and impotent blows at a powerful enemy, whom all the mercantilists characterized as England's greatest rival in the commercial world. Though the pamphleteers greatly exaggerated the menace of French competition, which was actually dangerous only in the sugar trade, their writings were influential at the time and served to spread the belief that France was outfooting England in nearly all parts of the world, was in control of the best markets, and was threatening British commercial leadership in America, the West Indies, Africa, and India. To these men it seemed a crime against England that the French should be aided in their race for commercial supremacy by the northern British colonies, which continued without cessation their practice of importing sugar, rum, and molasses from the foreign colonies and of exporting these foreign staples to England as if they were British products. It was inevitable that continued advance on the part of the French, either real or apparent, should lead to arms, just as a similar advance on the part of the Dutch had ended in war a century before, and that something stronger than legislative enactments should be resorted to, in order to break the hold that France, to all appearances, was gaining on the territory and trade of the western world. The commercial conflict, which had known no truce in the years from 1700 to 1750, merged almost imperceptibly, but none the less certainly, into that great military and naval struggle, known as the Seven Years' War.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

## THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN IN 1822

DURING the second and third decades of the nineteenth century the magnificent empire of Spain in America split into states which proclaimed their independence of the mother-country. From 1810 to 1822 the rebellious colonists sent emissaries to the United States to seek aid and to plead for the recognition of their independence. But the government of the United States did not receive these envoys officially: it strove to remain neutral in the protracted struggle between Spain and her colonies. Meanwhile, in cabinet councils and in Congress the question was raised whether the executive or Congress ought to lead the way in recognizing the independence of the nascent states. This study, which considers the action taken by the United States in 1822 with regard to the recognition of the independence of these states, will accordingly deal with the immediate antecedents of the Monroe Doctrine message. It will be seen that the evidence at hand furnishes some ground for the view that Spain foresaw the promulgation of such a doctrine by the United States and hence warned England as well as other European powers against an American political system in contrast with the European system under the aegis of the Holy Alliance.

On January 30, 1822, the House of Representatives asked President Monroe for information concerning "the political condition" of the revolted provinces of Spanish America and "the state of war between them and Spain".<sup>1</sup> On March 8, 1822, the President responded by a special message, which was accompanied by documents illustrating conditions in Spain as well as in Colombia, Chile, Peru, Buenos Aires, and Mexico. After reviewing the policy which the United States had pursued towards the revolutionists, Monroe declared that five states of Spanish America were "in the full enjoyment of their independence"; that there was "not the most remote prospect of their being deprived of it"; and that these new governments had now "a claim to recognition by other Powers, which ought not to be resisted". Monroe affirmed that the delay of the United States in deciding to recognize the independence of these states had given "an unequivocal proof" to Spain, as well as to other powers, "of the high respect entertained by the United States" for the rights of the mother-country. He held that the spread of the insurrection over the Spanish dominions in America

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 17 Cong., 1 sess., I. 825-828.

would reconcile Spain to a separation from her colonies. He declared that the United States desired to act with the powers of Europe in regard to the recognition of Spanish-American independence. Cautiously the President declared that it was not the intention of his government to alter the friendly relations existing between the United States and the warring countries, but "to observe . . . the most perfect neutrality between them". The upshot of Monroe's message was the suggestion that, if Congress concurred in his views, it would see "the propriety of making the necessary appropriations" to carry them into effect.<sup>2</sup>

On March 19, 1822, the Committee on Foreign Relations, which had been considering Monroe's message, reported to the House that the nations of Spanish America were *de facto* independent. The judgment of the committee in favor of the recognition of their independence from Spain was based upon this alleged fact. An apprehension that the recognition of Spanish-American independence might "injuriously affect our peaceful and friendly relations with the nations of the other hemisphere" was lightly dismissed, while the hope was expressed that European nations might follow the example of the United States. It was maintained that the claims of Spain to sovereignty over the American colonies had been given "the most respectful attention". It was declared that recognition by the United States could neither affect Spain's "rights nor impair her means" in the accomplishment of her policy. With unanimity the committee declared that it was "just and expedient to acknowledge the independence of the several nations of Spanish America". The committee accordingly proposed two resolutions: first, that the House of Representatives concur with the President that the American provinces of Spain which had declared and were enjoying their independence "ought to be recognized by the United States as independent nations"; and, second, that the Committee of Ways and Means should report a bill making an appropriation which would enable the President "to give due effect to such recognition".<sup>3</sup>

The committee's report provoked a spirited discussion in the House. After a slight change in the phraseology of the first resolution, both resolutions passed the House on March 28, the first resolution being carried by a vote of 167 to one, while the second resolution was passed unanimously.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly a bill was soon framed which made an appropriation for diplomatic missions to the independent nations south of the United States.<sup>5</sup> After some hesita-

<sup>2</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 818, 819.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 17 Cong., 1 sess., II. 1314-1320.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1403, 1404.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1444, 1518, 1526, 1530.

tion, caused by the news that the Cortes of Spain had expressed its disapproval of the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies by other nations,<sup>6</sup> the Senate approved the policy of recognition. On May 4, 1822, Monroe signed a bill which appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expenses of "such Missions to the independent nations on the American continent" as the President might deem proper.<sup>7</sup>

By this act the United States announced its intention to acknowledge the independence of the revolted colonies of Spain in America which stretched from the parallel of forty-two degrees, north latitude, to Cape Horn. With the exception of the Portuguese monarchy seated at Rio de Janeiro,<sup>8</sup> the North American republic was the first member of the family of nations to extend the hand of fellowship to the new Hispanic states. The significance of this acknowledgment has not been adequately noticed by historical writers in America or Europe.

In the spring of 1822, Spain's ambassador in the United States was Joaquín de Anduaga. The day after Monroe's message recommending the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American provinces was transmitted to Congress, Anduaga sent to Secretary Adams a lively protest. He said that, after the immense sacrifices which Spain had made to preserve friendly relations with the United States, President Monroe's proposal had much surprised him. He declared that the condition of these provinces did not entitle them to such recognition:

"Where, then, are those Governments which ought to be recognized? where the pledges of their stability? . . . where the right of the United States to sanction and declare legitimate a rebellion without cause, and the event of which is not even decided?"

He declared that the nations of Europe should await the issue of the contest between Spain and her revolted colonies and thus avoid doing Spain a gratuitous injury:

"The sentiments which the message ought to excite in the breast of every Spaniard can be no secret to you. Those which the King

<sup>6</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, V. 489.

<sup>7</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 17 Cong., 1 sess., II. 2603, 2604. This recognition is discussed in Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, I. 85, 86; Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain, Diplomacy*, pp. 152-155; Paxson, *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, pp. 170-177; Latané, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America*, p. 61; McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, V. 42, 43; Turner, *Rise of the New West (The American Nation. vol. XIV.)*, p. 207.

<sup>8</sup> Portugal recognized Buenos Aires in 1821. *Registro Oficial de la República Argentina*, I. 569, 570; Pereira da Silva, *Historia da Fundação do Império Brasileiro*, II. 280.

of Spain will experience at receiving a notification so unexpected will be doubtless very disagreeable."

With indignation the minister announced that the recognition of the independence of the revolted provinces by the United States could "*in no way now, or at any time, lessen or invalidate in the least the right of Spain to said provinces*", or the right to employ any means in her power "*to reunite them to the rest of her dominions*".<sup>9</sup>

On March 12, 1822, Anduaga sent to his government a copy of Monroe's message and of his protest. "It is difficult to describe", said Anduaga, "the general applause with which this message has been received here without distinction of party." He affirmed that this message had been referred by the House of Representatives to the Committee on Foreign Relations merely as a matter of form; the United States, after having secured the cession of Florida from Spain, had virtually decided to recognize the independence of all the revolted provinces.

Although this action was foreseen by all intelligent persons at the time when the treaty of 1819 was negotiated, yet my indignation has been aroused by the perfidy and the effrontery of the government of the United States, which, after having secured from Spain the greatest and the most shameful sacrifices, has recognized these provinces, thus doing exactly what Spain by her fatal condescension wished to prevent.<sup>10</sup>

To appreciate the attitude which the Spanish government took towards this policy proclaimed by the United States, it should be remembered that, in 1822, Ferdinand VII. ruled Spain not as an absolute king, but as a constitutional monarch. In accordance with the constitution framed in 1812, the administration was in the hands of a responsible ministry. In important affairs the king was advised by a council of state composed of forty members. The legislative authority was vested in the king and in a Cortes composed of one house.<sup>11</sup> On February 13, 1822, the extraordinary Cortes had passed a decree concerning Spanish America which provided that the government should send commissioners to the revolted colonies who were to receive and to transmit to Madrid the proposals of the insurgents. This decree announced that the treaty signed at Córdoba on August 24, 1821, by the royalist commander, Juan O'Donojú, and the revolutionary leader, Agustín de Iturbide, which

<sup>9</sup> *Am. St. P., For. Rel.*, IV. 845, 846. The reply of Adams is found, *ibid.*, p. 846.

<sup>10</sup> Anduaga to the secretary of state, March 12, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

<sup>11</sup> The constitution of 1812 can be found in Dublan and Lozano, *Legislación Mexicana*, I. 349-379.



provided for the independence of New Spain from Old Spain, was illegal and void. This important decree provided that Spain should inform other governments "by means of a declaration" that she would always view the partial or absolute recognition of the independence of her transatlantic provinces as a violation of treaties.<sup>12</sup> The Spanish ambassadors at important European courts were instructed to bring to the attention of these courts the policy which Spain had thus formally announced.<sup>13</sup>

The government of the United States had apprehended that the policy of recognition might provoke Spain. On March 9, Adams sent to John Forsyth, the American ambassador at Madrid, a copy of Monroe's message. Adams told the ambassador that, if the Spaniards were displeased at this message, he was "to give every necessary explanation concerning it; and particularly that it resulted from a disposition in no wise unfriendly to Spain".<sup>14</sup> Soon after the news of Monroe's message reached Madrid, Forsyth heard that Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, a moderate liberal who was the Spanish secretary of state,<sup>15</sup> had spoken of that message as hostile to Spain and had described the report of the committee of the House of Representatives as "an attack upon legitimacy". Of his conversation with that minister in regard to the policy of the United States towards Spanish America, Forsyth said:

He spoke with a great deal of warmth on the subject, said it was what, from the friendly conduct of the Spains to the United States they could not have expected,—in no state of circumstances could it have a friendly effect on the interests of this Govt.—that it appeared from the message itself, that, not satisfied with taking this step ourselves, we had been and still were instigating other Governments to do so likewise, and that the measure was adopted upon information incorrect in itself, and derived from sources of doubtful authority. . . . He considered it particularly injurious to Spain at this moment when they were about setting on foot a negotiation with the different parts of Spanish America.—He concluded by expressing an opinion that the Spanish-Americans were unequal to self-government and that their

<sup>12</sup> *Colección de los Decretos y Ordenes Generales expedidos por las Cortes*, VIII. 272-274.

<sup>13</sup> On the instructions to the ambassadors to England and Spain respectively, see Onís to Castlereagh, May 27, 1822, Public Record Office, Foreign Office Correspondence, Spain, 262; Argaiz to Nesselrode, St. Petersburg, March 6/18, 1822 (copy), Archivo General de Indias, Estado, Audiencia de México, 23. With regard to France and Prussia, see Torres Lanzas, *Independencia de América*, primera serie, V. 412.

<sup>14</sup> State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Instructions to Ministers, 9.

<sup>15</sup> On conditions in Spain, see Altamira, "Spain (1815-1845)", in the *Cambridge Modern History*, X. 224-226.

Independence, instead of being accelerated, would be retarded by this act of our Government.<sup>16</sup>

In reply Forsyth defended the action of his government; he said that the message itself explained the basis for the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American colonies; he affirmed that the attitude of Spain herself would determine whether or not this policy would injure her; he maintained that, if the Spaniards were "disposed to yield to circumstances and act prudently, it could do them no injury". Forsyth also told Martínez de la Rosa that, in communicating with certain other governments in regard to Spanish America, the United States had desired "that other powers more remotely concerned in the question, should express an opinion on it at the same time with ourselves, with a view to its effects on the policy" of Spain. Further, he alleged that the action of the United States had been taken in ignorance of the projected negotiations of Spain with her revolted colonies. Martínez de la Rosa's declaration that the Spanish Americans were unfit for self-government was met with the statement that, if this were true, they were not fit to live under the Spanish constitution.<sup>17</sup>

A multitude of documents in the archives of Spain testify that Spanish statesmen were grievously vexed at the policy announced by the United States and that Spanish diplomats anxiously strove to counteract the influence of that policy. On April 21 Ferdinand VII. sent an order to the council of state urging it to consider President Monroe's message to Congress of March 8; on the following day this state paper was referred to a committee.<sup>18</sup> On May 1 this startling message was discussed by the council of state. The majority of the councillors were of opinion that Anduaga had acted properly in regard to the message; that he should be ordered to absent himself from Washington without demanding his passports; and that he should protest energetically against the recognition of the independence of any of the transatlantic provinces of Spain. Further, the council decided that Spain should act circumspectly; that she should abstain openly from any measures which might indicate hostility towards the United States or provoke a war; but that she should quietly take every possible measure to improve her position by strengthening her navy.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, Martínez de la Rosa had sent special instructions in

<sup>16</sup> Forsyth to Adams, May 20, 1822, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from Ministers, Spain, 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Actas del Concejo de Estado, 25 D.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

regard to Monroe's message to the Spanish envoys at various European courts. On April 22 he addressed identical despatches to Spain's ambassadors at Paris, London, and St. Petersburg. These ambassadors were reminded of the decree of the Spanish Cortes of February 13, 1822; and they were directed to protest vigorously against the policy of recognition proposed by President Monroe.<sup>20</sup> Three days later the Spanish secretary of state wrote instructions for the ambassadors in France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, England, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark informing them that Spain desired to counteract the effects of Monroe's message.<sup>21</sup>

To the chief legations of Spain in Europe there was also sent a paper which was entitled "a sketch of the condition of the different provinces of Spanish America according to the latest reports". This sketch was to be used in dealing with the cabinets of the various governments or in influencing public opinion in the different countries. It presented a Spanish version of conditions in the revolted provinces, a version which was in sharp contrast with the account presented in the message of President Monroe. In Mexico, the prestige of Agustín de Iturbide was declining; the complete triumph of the revolutionists in that country was problematical. On the Pacific coast of South America, José de San Martín was not in accord with his lieutenants; he had antagonized many Chileans, and made himself odious to the people of Lima. In the provinces of la Plata, the influence of the revolutionists did not extend far beyond the city of Buenos Aires; the rural provinces were distracted by factions; and Paraguay was in the grasp of a despot. In northern South America, Spanish generals were gaining victories; and a report was in circulation that Bolívar the liberator had died. Santo Domingo was torn by factions, while Cuba and Porto Rico were furnishing proofs of devoted loyalty to the mother-country.<sup>22</sup> In fine, those facts were marshalled in this sketch which supported the contention of the Spanish government that the revolution in America was doomed to fail.

On May 6, 1822, Martínez de la Rosa addressed identical instructions to the Spanish ambassadors in London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin. These ambassadors were informed that the principal objects of their diplomacy should be:

That the government to which you are accredited should not recog-

<sup>20</sup> Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

<sup>21</sup> Draft, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> "Estado de los diferentes paises de América segun las ultimas noticias", *ibid.*

nize, directly or indirectly, the *de facto* governments existing in the dissident provinces of America.

That it should not send to them, or receive from them, any public agents; or establish any diplomatic relations with them.

That it should give to the manifesto of his Catholic Majesty the most explicit and favorable reply which can be obtained with regard to its disposition to respect the rights of the Spanish nation in her American provinces by maintaining an absolutely passive position during the negotiations which are to be initiated by means of commissioners, and by not recognizing the independence of these provinces.

Spain's ambassadors at the courts of the Allies were also informed that, in the judgment of the Spanish government, the United States was about to recognize the independence of the revolted colonies. To neutralize the effects of this recognition these ambassadors were furnished with certain general arguments. They were directed to point out how badly the United States had treated Spain after that nation had sacrificed the Floridas. They were to comment upon the policy of the United States that aimed to isolate itself from European powers, and that wished to incite the American colonists to separate themselves from the nations of Europe. They were to intimate that the policy of the United States towards Spanish America was due to a desire to secure as a reward for the recognition of the new states special commercial advantages and privileges.

Special arguments were furnished for presentation to particular courts. To the courts of Austria and Prussia two special arguments might be presented: one, that it was wise to strengthen the stability of legitimate governments and not to furnish a new theatre for revolution in America; the other, that the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies would probably lead to the grant of special commercial privileges to some maritime power. To Russia might be given the intimation that she would gain special commercial advantages by the conservation of Spain's sovereignty in the New World. It was declared that the United States viewed the Russian settlements in America with jealousy and enmity. With regard to France, it was suggested that the emancipation of Spain's colonies in America would promote the emancipation of the French colonies; while it was intimated that, if Spain succeeded in pacifying the insurgents, France would secure many commercial advantages. It was urged that, if the Spanish colonies were emancipated, other nations than France would secure from the new states special commercial advantages. It was suggested that France, "the natural ally of Spain", should have a special interest in the preservation of Spanish rule in America. To England it might be argued that the

recognition of the independence of the new American states was not in harmony with the policy of neutrality which that power had followed during the struggle between Spain and her colonies; and that recognition by England would indicate that English policy had been frustrated by the United States.

The doctrine and the conduct of the United States furnish convincing proof that because of their inclinations, interests, and policies the European colonies which become independent in America have a strong interest in seeing that the nations of Europe do not retain there any colonies or establishments subject to their rule. England is perhaps the power most interested in giving to this ulterior consideration its due weight. . . . The recognition of the independence of the dissident provinces will at once injure her international relations and will not improve the commercial relations of England with those regions.

If these provinces become independent, it is almost certain that the United States will derive greater profit from that event than England. To this probable outcome many causes will contribute: such as the geographical location of the United States; its form of government; the greater resemblance of that government to the governments established in Spanish America; and the American interest which will constrain the United States to counterbalance the European interest in America.<sup>23</sup>

Obviously, Spain wished to inhibit any action by the European powers which would favor the independence of the states that were rising beyond the Atlantic.

In May, 1822, Martínez de la Rosa addressed to Spain's ambassadors at the principal European courts his manifesto concerning the condition of the revolted colonies in America. He reminded the powers of Europe that Napoleon's usurpation in Spain was the fundamental cause of the revolution in the American colonies—a revolution which the Spanish government anxiously wished to terminate. These powers were informed that, in accordance with the action of the Cortes, Ferdinand VII. had selected certain commissioners to proceed to the transatlantic provinces so that they might receive the proposals of the revolutionists and transmit them to Madrid:

His Catholic Majesty does not present himself to the revolted colonies as a monarch who is angry with his offending subjects, but as a father who wishes to act as a pacific mediator in the dissensions of his children. . . . His Catholic Majesty flatters himself with the hope that this frank and generous conduct will save the American provinces from ages of misery and destruction: that it will prevent civil war and anarchy from obstructing the progress of their civilization and culture;

<sup>23</sup> "Instrucciones reservados á los Representantes de S. M. en Londres, París, Viena, Petersburgo, y Berlin, Madrid, 6 de Mayo de 1822", Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

that it will prevent the depopulation, poverty, and immorality resulting from those large political oscillations which condemn one generation to misfortune without assuring repose or happiness to succeeding generations. . . . It is impossible to measure this influence [of American affairs in Europe] or the alteration which it will produce in the reciprocal relations of the Old and the New Worlds; but his Catholic Majesty does not hesitate to affirm that the negotiation which will determine the destiny of the Spanish-American provinces and will arrest the blind and impetuous course of revolution will be one of the greatest of blessings for the civilized world. . . .

Perhaps there will be some shallow minds who will consider that a nation has been founded and a solid and stable government established in each American province which has declared its independence; and who, without considering the obstacles of any sort, or the principles of public law, or the best-known maxims of the law of nations, believe that the *mere fact* that a province has separated from the state of which it forms a legitimate part and that it maintains an isolated and independent existence invests it with the right to be recognized by other nations as an independent power.

But fortunately the governments of Europe have learned by sad experience the effects which are produced by such an overthrow of principles; they realize that the consequences of spreading such principles are not less fatal to legitimate governments than to the integrity of nations; and they are acutely aware of the effects upon Europe of sanctioning in America, as some persons pretend to do, the indefinite right of insurrection.

Consequently his Catholic Majesty believes that there are interested in this problem other nations besides those which possess transatlantic colonies and establishments to which the same theory might be applied which some persons desire to legitimate with regard to the Spanish provinces in America; for he considers this affair to be intimately connected with those conservative principles which afford security to all governments and guarantees to society.

It was argued that Spain, rich, powerful, yet inoffensive, would influence the European balance of power favorably. It was declared that Spain was now convinced of the necessity of a more liberal colonial policy: since the establishment of the constitutional government, Spanish laws and regulations had favored the emigration of foreigners into the Spanish provinces in America and freedom of commerce with those dominions.

By these simple and natural means his Catholic Majesty is enabled to remove the only obstacle which could prevent perfect harmony between the policy of Spain and the policy of other [European] nations. The Spanish government, solid, stable, and recognized as a faithful observer of treaties, is disposed to negotiate with the revolted colonies in America and offers to other nations the greatest commercial opportunities: under these circumstances, even though the question were reduced to a simple calculation of financial advantage, it would be impossible to designate an object which could serve as a counterpoise on the other side.



While Spain is trying to terminate a domestic misunderstanding, the inviolable respect which she entertains for the rights of other nations inspires her with a just confidence that she will be treated with the same consideration. She cannot even suspect, in regard to the powers which deserve to maintain friendship and harmony with her, that any rash step will be taken which might imply a supposition that the question is already solved, the decision of which belongs only to Spain in the exercise of those legitimate and recognized rights which she has never renounced. The very measures which have been taken to induce the powers of Europe to recognize the independence of the revolted colonies of America will afford to the cabinets of the Allies a signal occasion to sanction the fundamental principles upon which are founded the integrity of national territory, the peace of nations, and the morality of governments.<sup>24</sup>

This exposition was originally prepared in accordance with the decree of the Cortes dated February 13, 1822. Although it was not completed until after the news of Monroe's message of March 8 had reached Spain,<sup>25</sup> yet neither that provocative message nor the government of the United States was mentioned therein. To that message this exposition was, nevertheless, in part, a counterblast. When this exposé of Spain's policy became known in Madrid, it gave rise to a conjecture that Spanish America was "to be restored to its ancient dependence. And the United States is to be taught obedience to the maxims of Government prevailing in civilized and enlightened Europe."<sup>26</sup> This exposition of the policy of the constitutional government of Spain towards her revolted colonies was published at Madrid; it was transmitted to the courts of the Allies; but to contemporaries in the United States, it remained almost unknown.<sup>27</sup> Although a translation of this important document was

<sup>24</sup> "Manifiesto sobre el estado de las Provincias disidentes de América, en Madrid, Mayo de 1822", Archivo General de Indias Estado, América en General, 5. It may be interesting to consider in connection with this manifesto the views concerning Spanish America expressed by John Quincy Adams in a letter to A. H. Everett, December 29, 1817, in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI, 113, 114. Perhaps the clearest statement in regard to the principles underlying the policy pursued by the United States towards the revolution in Spanish America, however, was made on August 24, 1818, by Secretary Adams to President Monroe; see "Memorandum upon the Power to Recognize the Independence of a New Foreign State", by Mr. Hale, *Senate Document No. 56*, 54 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 2, 53. In part, this is also found in Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, I, 78, 79.

<sup>25</sup> Martínez de la Rosa to Spain's ambassadors in Paris, London, and St. Petersburg, April 22, 1822, A. G. I., *ubi supra*. See further, Torres Lanzas, *Independencia de América*, primera serie, V, 442, 443.

<sup>26</sup> Forsyth to Adams, June 23, 1822, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from Spain, 20.

<sup>27</sup> A copy of this manifesto was sent to Forsyth by Martínez de la Rosa on June 21, 1822. Forsyth sent a copy of the manifesto to Adams on June 23, *ibid*. On August 17, 1822, Niles mentioned a manifesto purporting to contain the views of Spain in regard to Spanish America; but he did not consider it as genuine, and hence did not publish it. *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXII, 386.

published in the *British and Foreign State Papers* more than fifty years ago,<sup>28</sup> yet its historical import has not been appreciated, so far as the writer is aware, until the present day.<sup>29</sup>

Soon after the news of Monroe's message reached Paris, Spain's ambassador, the Marqués de Casa Yrujo, sought Vicomte Matthieu de Montmorency, the French minister of foreign affairs, to remind him that Spain had declared the treaty of Córdoba null; to declare that she retained all her rights over her transatlantic provinces; and that she expected France, "in accordance with the principles of legitimacy", not to follow the suggestions which had been made by the United States in regard to the independence of the revolted colonies. At once Montmorency assured the marquis that, with regard to these colonies, France would not follow the example of the United States.<sup>30</sup> On May 9 the Spanish secretary of state sent to Casa Yrujo a copy of the manifesto concerning the Spanish-American colonies with instructions immediately to bring this state paper to the attention of the French government.<sup>31</sup> Hence, on May 20, Casa Yrujo sent a copy of this manifesto to Montmorency.<sup>32</sup> On May 24 Casa Yrujo reported to his government a conference with Montmorency regarding the recognition of the Spanish colonies in which he had used the arguments furnished in the circular instructions of May 6. According to the ambassador's report, after speaking of the probable policy of England towards Spanish America, Montmorency said:

"That France would be glad to see Spain employ the only measure which offered a hope of the best results for Spain, for Europe, and for America, that is, to send to Mexico one of our *infantes*. He indicated to me that France would lend us all the aid necessary to carry out this plan."<sup>33</sup>

In fact, during the age of the congresses, the favorite solution of France for the vexatious problem of the Spanish colonies was the

<sup>28</sup> *British and Foreign State Papers*, IX. 889-894.

<sup>29</sup> The manifesto is noticed by Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871*, II. 277, 278.

<sup>30</sup> Casa Yrujo to Martínez de la Rosa, April 16, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5. Gallatin's account of the reception of Monroe's message in Europe is found in Adams, *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, II. 240. Certain Parisian newspapers commented upon the policy of the United States towards Spanish America; see especially, *Le Courrier Français*, April 13 and April 15, 1822; *Le Journal des Débats*, April 17, 1822; and *La Gazette de France*, April 27, 1822.

<sup>31</sup> Martínez de la Rosa to Casa Yrujo, May 9, 1822, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, 6846.

<sup>32</sup> Casa Yrujo to Montmorency, May 20, 1822, *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Casa Yrujo to Martínez de la Rosa, May 24, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

establishment of monarchies in America under Bourbon princes, who might hold their kingdoms as appanages of Spain.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps the hope of inducing Spain to accept such a project was partly responsible for the intimation which was given to Casa Yrujo by a subordinate official in the department of foreign affairs to the effect that France would not pledge herself to refrain from recognizing the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies for an indefinite period.<sup>35</sup> Replying to Spain's manifesto early in June, Montmorency informed Casa Yrujo that France would make no premature decision; her attitude towards Spain was too amicable to allow her to entertain any other desire than that the discussion in regard to the Spanish colonies should terminate without injuring the interests or the prosperity of Spain.<sup>36</sup>

Early in June, 1822, the question of the recognition of the independence of the new governments in America was also seriously considered at the court of Francis I. by the Austrian councillor of state, Friedrich von Gentz, and by Prince Metternich.<sup>37</sup> This momentous question was also the subject of conversation between Metternich and Spain's minister at the court of Vienna, Mariano de Carrero. On June 8, Carrero reported to Martínez de la Rosa that Metternich had expressed his disapproval of the revolts in Spanish America and of all steps which looked towards the recognition of the *de facto* governments.<sup>38</sup> Possibly it was a vivid recollection of the action of the North American republic in regard to the independence of the Spanish colonies that provoked Gentz to say of the United States on September 21, 1823: "This ill-omened stranger has already nestled deeply enough into every nook and cranny of the old continent."<sup>39</sup>

At the court of Prussia Monroe's message caused conferences between the Spanish ambassador at Berlin, Joaquín Zamorano, and Count Bernstorff, the foreign minister of Frederick William III.

<sup>34</sup> See further Casa Yrujo to Evaristo San Miguel, November 28, 1822, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, 6844; Villanueva, *La Monarquía en América: Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, pp. 136, 137, citing the French archives; *Oeuvres Complètes de Châteaubriand*, XII. 397.

<sup>35</sup> Casa Yrujo to Martínez de la Rosa, May 24, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Montmorency to Casa Yrujo, June 9, 1822, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, 6846.

<sup>37</sup> *Tagebücher von Friedrich von Gentz*, III. 49, 50.

<sup>38</sup> Carrero to Martínez de la Rosa, June 8, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

<sup>39</sup> *Briefe von und an Friedrich von Gentz*, vol. III., part II., p. 49. For the views of Gentz and Metternich on Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, see Robertson, "The Monroe Doctrine Abroad in 1823-1824", in the *American Political Science Review*, VI. 559-561.

At an interview in the end of May, Zamorano urged that Spain had an incontestable right to her transatlantic colonies; and he maintained that the action of the United States in regard to recognition was premature. Zamorano reported to Martínez de la Rosa that Bernstorff declared that Prussia would adhere to her policy of opposition to the recognition of the independence of any of the revolted colonies.<sup>40</sup>

On May 30 Zamorano sent to Count Bernstorff a copy of Spain's manifesto on Spanish America.<sup>41</sup> In the Prussian minister's reply dated June 7, he declared that the status of that vast and rich country would have a decisive influence upon the fortunes of two hemispheres. The nations which were friendly to Spain desired that she would find means to reconcile her rights with the real needs and the legitimate wishes of her American colonists.

The cabinet of Madrid ought to recollect that, on more than one occasion, when the allied courts expressed their wishes and their desires with regard to the Spanish colonies, they manifested a friendly disposition to aid Spain by all those measures which might re-establish order, peace, and happiness in Spanish America. These courts entertain the same desire for the success of the system which his Majesty, the king of the Spains, now proposes to follow for the pacification of the Spanish colonies. . . . If this system enables his Catholic Majesty to attain his end, it will be a benefit to all Europe and the allies of Spain will agree to sanction it.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Bernstorff to Zamorano (copy), June 7, 1822, *ibid.*

At a conference which he subsequently held with Bernstorff, the Spanish ambassador evidently received the assurance that Prussia would treat the revolted provinces in America as colonies of Spain.<sup>43</sup>

In the end of May, Spain's ambassador at St. Petersburg, Pedro Alcántara Argaiz, expressed to the Russian chancellor, Count Nesselrode, the surprise and displeasure of Ferdinand VII. at the action of the United States in regard to Spanish America. The Greek Capodistrias, adjunct secretary of foreign affairs and an opponent of Metternich's policy, evidently intimated to Argaiz that it would now be difficult for Spain to negotiate with the *de facto* governments in Spanish America.<sup>44</sup> On June 10 Argaiz sent to Nesselrode a copy of Spain's manifesto touching the condition of the revolted

<sup>40</sup> Zamorano to Martínez de la Rosa, April 30, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

<sup>41</sup> Zamorano to Bernstorff, May 30, 1822 (copy), *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Zamorano to Martínez de la Rosa, June 8, 1822, *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Argaiz to Martínez de la Rosa, June 2, 1822, *ibid.* On Capodistrias see "Aperçu de ma carrière publique, depuis 1798 jusqu' à 1822" *Sbornik Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva* (publications of the Imperial Russian Historical Society), III. 289, 290.

colonies.<sup>45</sup> Two days later Argaiz addressed to the Russian chancellor a letter enclosing two confidential notes which concerned Spanish America. In one of these notes the ambassador drew his arguments mainly from Spain's circular instructions of May 6.<sup>46</sup> In the other note, Argaiz spoke of "the conception which his Catholic Majesty entertained of the noble character of his august ally, the Emperor Alexander", and of Ferdinand's recollections of "the equitable and conciliatory policy" which the emperor had followed in other matters relating to the Spanish colonies. Then Argaiz criticized Monroe's message, evidently recapitulating the protests which he had made in his interview with Nesselrode:

The content of the message of the president of the United States has furnished sufficient arguments to destroy the unfavorable impression which the inaccurate narration of the facts there mentioned will produce. In the documents designed to furnish a justification for that message the statement is made that no news has yet been received from Mr. Prevost, commissioner of the United States at Lima. It is therefore natural to conclude that we do not yet know with exactness the actual condition of that province. . . . According to the admission of the president himself, the news which the American government has in regard to Mexico is not more authentic. A private letter from a citizen of the United States is . . . a shaky foundation for the opinion which that government has formed in regard to the condition of that vast country. . . .

Not only is the political and the military condition of Spain's dominions beyond the seas as presented in this message inaccurate; but the inferences which have been deduced therefrom are pernicious and the maxims there developed are contrary to public law. . . . The keen discernment of your excellency will have comprehended all the inconveniences attached to the adoption of such a theory in regard to the insurrection of any integral part of a state as well as the disadvantages which would result if America sanctions maxims opposed to those principles which are professed in Europe. What will be the result if the powers of Europe that are interested in the conservation of order and in the maintenance of the fundamental maxims of the law of nations allow this unexpected conduct on the part of the United States? In particular, should those nations which possess colonies regard the question which is agitated in Spain to an extent as their own? And if one or two maritime powers favor the emancipation of the provinces of Spanish America in order that they may derive all the advantages arising therefrom, will this suit the interests of the nations of the Old World?

Accompanying this critique was a report of the condition of Spanish America based upon information which had been received by Spain. In conclusion, the imperial government was asked to re-

<sup>45</sup> Argaiz to Nesselrode, May 29/June 10, 1882 (copy), Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

<sup>46</sup> "No. 4" (copy), *ibid.*

spect the rights of Spain and to refrain from any action which might interfere with her attempt to pacify the revolted colonies by amicable negotiations.<sup>47</sup>

Count Nesselrode's reply was made on June 25, 1822:

I have placed under the eyes of the emperor, my master, the communications which you have addressed to his Majesty's cabinet in regard to the measures adopted by the United States for the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies of America.

His Catholic Majesty ought not to question the desire which the emperor entertains of seeing this beautiful and rich part of the Spanish dominions prosper under the laws of a monarch whose paternal solicitude has for a long time been occupied with the mode of assuring them a peaceable and happy future.

Ferdinand VII. ought to be convinced by the slight attention which has been paid in Europe to the proceedings of the agents of the revolted American provinces and by the communications which his cabinet has received from several European courts, that the resolutions of the Allied powers will not tend to decide before the proper time, or against the wishes of Spain, the question to which she attaches such legitimate importance. In this conjuncture, as in all others, the emperor will not depart in the least from the principles of loyalty, of justice, and of moderation which direct European policy and which he has had occasion to develop more than once in his relations of friendship with your august sovereign.<sup>48</sup>

Such was the response of the author of the Holy Alliance, whose influence Spain hoped to use to thwart any measures which England might be projecting with regard to the Spanish colonies.<sup>49</sup>

Monroe's message naturally provoked correspondence between the Spanish ambassador in London, Luis de Onís, and Lord Castlereagh, the English secretary for foreign affairs.

On May 7, 1822, Onís addressed a note to Castlereagh containing observations upon that message which were drawn mainly from his instructions of April 22. The Spanish ambassador di-

<sup>47</sup> "No. 3" (copy), Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.

<sup>48</sup> "No. 5" (copy), *ibid.* Monroe's message recommending the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American states was also the subject of conversation between Henry Middleton, the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, and the Russian government. To one of Russia's ministers Middleton expressed the hope that this message "might be correctly understood by the Emperor". He expressed the conviction that this step could only have been taken after a full and mature consideration of the subject and that such action was to be expected because of the geographical and commercial position of the United States. The reply of the Russian minister led Middleton to believe that he "in some degree assented to the justness" of his observations, Middleton to Adams, July 8/20, 1822, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches from Russia, 9. For the views of Nesselrode, as expressed to Tuyl in July, 1822, see "Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818-1825", in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVIII. 341-342.

<sup>49</sup> Martínez de la Rosa to Argaiz, May 10, 1822, A. G. I., *ubi supra*.



rected attention to the decree of the Cortes of February 13, 1822. He declared that Ferdinand VII. wished to preserve harmony with the King of England in regard to Spanish America while his cabinet prepared and transmitted "an exposition, or manifesto, disclosing more fully the rights and views of Spain in regard to the most important question which the president of the Anglo-American republic has resolved to precipitate".

Such is the nature of the message of the president of the United States that it furnishes sufficient reasons to blot out the impression which it might produce. The facts presented as a basis for the solution of the problem are either distorted or lack the necessary exactness. . . . But if the military and political condition of our provinces in America as described in that message is false, the consequences deduced therefrom are absurd and the maxims enunciated are contrary to the fundamental principles of public law. What would be the results of accepting such a theory in regard to the insurrection of any integral part of a state? What would be the evils produced by sanctioning principles in America which are contrary to the principles that are sanctioned in Europe? And what would be the result of such an irregular and risky conduct upon the policy of those nations, which not only possess a common interest in the preservation of order and in the conservation of the maxims of international law, but also hold colonies and hence ought in a degree to consider the question which is now being agitated in Spain as their own problem?

The Spanish ambassador expressed the hope that England would not fail to perform the duties arising from her close alliance with Spain; and that she would not respond favorably to attempts by the United States to secure common action between the two Anglo-Saxon nations in regard to the Spanish colonies.<sup>50</sup> On May 27 Onís sent to Castlereagh the manifesto expounding Spain's policy in regard to Spanish America.<sup>51</sup> At the instance of his court, he again animadverted upon the attitude of the United States towards the independence of the Spanish colonies:

Forgetting in regard to Spain every principle of legality and good faith, the government of the United States is disposed to recognize the dissident provinces. But in the same state paper which announces its intention, it declares what are its principles in this transaction. In reality, this declaration affects all the powers of Europe, particularly England.

A government which casts aside the classic principles upon which the legitimacy of nations and the integrity of empires are founded; a

<sup>50</sup> Onís to Castlereagh, May 7, 1822, Public Record Office, Foreign Office Correspondence, Spain, 262.

<sup>51</sup> The note of Onís to Castlereagh, May 27, 1822, bears this endorsement, "Chevr. de Onís, May 27, 1822. Enclosing a Manifesto notifying that Spain is on the point of deputing commissioners to South America to treat with the Insurgent provinces", *ibid.*

government which seems to demand as a justification for *the right of recognition* only the simple and material existence of *fact*; a government which hardly learns of the revolution of New Spain . . . before it believes that there is established a solid and stable state whose legitimacy it should hasten to recognize; in fine, a government which, departing from the policy followed by other nations, not only works without their concurrence, but emphatically declares that its peculiar position encourages it to work in isolation without considering its international relations or awaiting the decision of other powers which have solicited it in vain, is not and cannot be a government that should influence by example the policy of other nations. Otherwise, a great truth would be unveiled to its eyes: there would appear in the future an *American* interest absolutely divergent from the *European* interest—an interest which would begin to ignore openly the principles of public law and even certain rules of convenience and decorum which have hitherto been respected by all civilized nations.<sup>52</sup>

This communication was followed by conferences between Castlereagh and Onís in which the Spaniard protested against any action by England which might favor the recognition of the independence of Spanish America.<sup>53</sup> Finally, on June 28, Castlereagh made a formal statement of his views: he assured Onís that England's "solicitude" for an amicable adjustment of the differences which existed between Spain and her colonies was "unabated" although her hopes of such an auspicious result had been "diminished" by the events which had happened from 1810 to 1822. Castlereagh declared that the king of England had learned with "satisfaction" that Ferdinand VII. had resolved to initiate negotiations with the revolted colonies upon a new basis.

H. Cath. My. may rest assured that, whilst these measures are in progress, the king his master will abstain, as far as possible, from any step which might prejudice H. Cath. M's endeavors for the termination of His differences with the said Provinces; but H. Brit. My. would not act with the candour and explicit friendship which He owes to His Ally the king of Spain, were He not, under present circumstances, to warn Him of the rapid progress of Events and of the danger of delay. H. Cath. My. must be aware that so large a portion of the world cannot, without fundamentally disturbing the intercourse of civilized Society, long continue without some recognized and established relations: That the State which can neither by It's Councils nor by It's arms, effectually assert It's own rights over It's dependencies so as to enforce obedience, and thus to make Itself responsible for maintaining their relations with other Powers, must sooner or later be prepared to see those relations establish themselves from the overruling necessity of the case, under some other form.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Onís to Castlereagh, May 27, 1822, P. R. O., *ubi supra*.

<sup>53</sup> Castlereagh to Onís, June 28, 1822, *ibid*. This correspondence between Onís and Castlereagh is mentioned by Paullin and Paxson, *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States*, p. 172.

<sup>54</sup> Castlereagh to Onís, June 28, 1822, Public Record Office, Foreign Office Correspondence, Spain, 262.

To this significant note which intimated that, if the estrangement between Spain and her colonies continued, the recognition of the independence of these colonies by England would be inevitable, the ambassador of Spain made no response.<sup>55</sup> It is evident that upon Castlereagh, as later upon Canning,<sup>56</sup> the example of the United States was not without influence.

Some effects of the action of the United States in regard to the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies were apparent in the congress of the Allies at Verona. In a "memorandum on the necessity of some further recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies" which was presented to this congress on November 24 by the Duke of Wellington, a reference was made to the action of the United States in recognizing the independence of the Spanish-American governments; and, after referring to Castlereagh's note to Onís of June 28, it was suggested that the depredations of pirates who lurked in the harbors of Spanish America would compel England "to some farther recognition of the existence *de facto* of some one or more of these self-erected governments".<sup>57</sup> In general, the replies which were made by the Allies announced their adherence to policies already announced. On behalf of the Emperor Alexander, Count Nesselrode repeated the sentiments of his note to Argaiz of June 25, and declared that Russia would take no action which would prejudge the question of the independence of Spanish America.<sup>58</sup> Prince Metternich avowed Austria's intention not to recognize the *de facto* governments until Spain had voluntarily and formally renounced her sovereignty over the revolted American colonies.<sup>59</sup> Prussia expressed her dislike for governments which were based upon revolutions and averred that a civil war and the resolutions of the Allies were preparing a crisis in Spanish affairs which might terminate the struggle between Spain and her revolted American provinces.<sup>60</sup> While referring with approval to the views presented by England, France expressed a desire for the pacification of

<sup>55</sup> *Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington (in continuation of the former series)*, I. 387.

<sup>56</sup> Stapleton, *Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, I. 51. Comment upon the policy of the United States towards Spanish America was made in the *Courier*, April 9, 1822; and in the *Times*, April 10, 1822.

<sup>57</sup> *Despatches of Wellington (in continuation of the former series)*, I. 386-388.

<sup>58</sup> Villanueva, *La Monarquía en América: Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, pp. 172, 173, citing the French archives; *Oeuvres Complètes de Châteaubriand*, XII. 45.

<sup>59</sup> Villanueva, *La Monarquía en América: Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, p. 171; *Oeuvres Complètes de Châteaubriand*, XII. 45. See also *Tagebucher von Friedrich von Gentz*, III. 113.

<sup>60</sup> Villanueva, *La Monarquía en América*, pp. 173, 174; *Oeuvres Complètes de Châteaubriand*, XII. 45.

Spanish America; she suggested that the most desirable mode of solving the problem of the status of Spain's colonies would be a general measure by the Allies which would reconcile necessity with legitimacy.<sup>61</sup> Thus the problem of the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies that had been precipitated by the United States helped to widen the rift, which, because of the projected intervention in Spain,<sup>62</sup> had appeared between the Continental leaders of the Holy Alliance and England.

This study shows that the intention of the United States to recognize the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies was announced by the concerted action of the executive and Congress. As an entire family of new states was ultimately recognized, this action occupies a unique place in the annals of American diplomacy. In the light of subsequent history, the forecast of revolutionary tendencies in Spanish America which was made in Spain's manifesto protesting against the action of the United States seems prophetic; for the protracted revolution against Spain, 1810-1826, evidently fastened upon the Spanish-American people the habit of revolution. With regard to the relations between the New World and the Old, this paper reveals that in 1822 there was a difference of opinion between England and the Continental members of the Holy Alliance concerning the future status of the revolted Spanish colonies in America: England leaned towards the recognition of their independence; France wished to arrange a compromise between Spain and her colonies; while Austria, Prussia, and Russia wished to preserve Spain's dominions and sovereignty intact. The reactionary attitude of the motherland suggests that, even under the liberal constitution, there were some peninsular diplomats who wished to appeal to the Holy Alliance for the maintenance of Spain's suzerainty over her crumbling empire. It is obvious that, in the minds of certain Continental statesmen, Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, awoke a spirit of apprehension, or even of antagonism. Spanish statesmen, in particular, feared that, in regard to Spanish-American problems, the influence of the United States might ultimately counterbalance the influence of the Holy Alliance. The acknowledgment of the independence of the rising states of Spanish America in 1822, breathing defiance of the sacred doctrine of legitimacy, provoked a stronger protest from the chanceries of Continental Europe than the President's message to Congress of December 2, 1823, announcing the Monroe Doctrine.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

<sup>61</sup> *Oeuvres Complètes de Châteaubriand*, XII. 46, 47; Villanueva, *La Monarquía en América: Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, pp. 169-171.

<sup>62</sup> *Despatches of Wellington (in continuation of the former series)*, I. 555-559, 562-573, 611-615.

## THE RUSSIAN FLEET AND THE CIVIL WAR

THE coming of the Russian fleet to our shores in 1863 has been a topic of discussion for many years. A great deal of importance has been attached to this event both in the United States and in Russia. Curiously enough, in neither of the two countries is it generally recognized that this official visit was of any consequence to the other. In Russia it is regarded from the point of view of European politics, while in America many people associate it with the Civil War. Through the kindness of the Russian Minister of the Marine in permitting the writer to examine the official documents, and through timely articles on the subject in the *Morskoi Sbornik*, it is now possible to learn the real motives of the expedition.

It will be remembered that during the period of our Civil War Russia was having difficulties in Poland. The Poles were restless under the political conditions imposed upon them by Nicholas I. From Alexander II. they expected a change for the better, but when one year after another passed without any very marked improvement their discontent began to manifest itself in active opposition to the government. It first showed itself openly on February 25, 1861; and during the following two years it assumed such a formidable character that it became a matter of deep concern to the whole of Europe. Thinking that by seizing the most active participants in the insurrection the trouble could be made to die out, the Russian police, on the night of January 15, 1863, entered many homes in Warsaw and arrested the men with a view to putting them into the army. This act stirred the European powers and made the year 1863 an exceedingly critical one; for a time it looked as if it would lead to a general European war.

Prussia desired the friendship of Russia and the collapse of the uprising and therefore concluded, in February, 1863, a military convention binding the two nations to aid one another in putting down the revolt. France, England, Austria, and the other powers stood out against Russia and her treatment of the Poles. On April 17 the representatives of these governments addressed a note of remonstrance to Prince Gortchakov, the Russian minister of foreign affairs. This not having the desired effect they followed up the first note by a second in June and a third in August. This is not the place to enter into the diplomatic discussions that took place.

The point at issue, to put it briefly, was this. France, England, Austria, and the other powers argued that the Polish question was an international one, having been made such by the Congress of Vienna, and therefore that all those who signed the treaty of 1815 should have a voice in its settlement. Russia, on the other hand, insisted that the question was a purely domestic one and that no intervention would be acceptable. She would yield so far as to agree to consult the powers directly concerned, Austria and Prussia; but since Prussia was already on her side this concession was equivalent to a refusal. The point in dispute was clear and sharp and it could be decided in one of two ways: either by one or the other of the two contending parties backing out or by all fighting.

Russia expected to be called on to defend her cause by arms, at least she thought it was wise to prepare for whatever might come. On January 22, 1862,<sup>1</sup> the Grand Duke Constantine, general-admiral of the navy, instructed Popov, who was about to set out for Asia to take command of the Pacific squadron, that in case of war between Russia and a power stronger than Russia the weaker of his ships should be ordered to a safe harbor and that with those remaining he should destroy the enemy's commerce.<sup>2</sup> In June, 1863, war seemed inevitable, and General-Adjutant Krabbe, who directed the navy while the grand duke was at Warsaw, began to work on a plan of campaign. The fleet was very weak, even weaker than it appeared on paper. It was made up of a small squadron in the Pacific, seven war vessels of various descriptions at Cronstadt, and a frigate in the Mediterranean. They were all, or nearly all, of wood, and, although they had engines, the principal means of motion was still the sail, the orders being that steam should be resorted to only in case of urgent necessity. With these facts in mind, Krabbe submitted a report to the emperor on July 5, on the part which the navy might be made to play in the coming conflict. He pointed out that the history of naval warfare in general and the present American conflict in particular taught that a few war-ships, properly handled, could do a great deal of harm to the enemy. England, he said, avoided war with the United States because she knew how much her merchant marine would suffer from American cruisers. Russia's fleet was too weak to make an effective fight against the combined naval strength of England and France, but it was strong enough to prey upon their commerce. He went on to suggest that as soon as England realized what Russia had in mind

<sup>1</sup> Dates are according to new style.

<sup>2</sup> A.M.M., D.K.M.M. (Arkhiv Morskogo Ministerstva, Dielo Kantseliarii Morskogo Ministerstva), no. 91, pt. I.



her attitude on the Polish question would change. If the fleet remained at home it would probably be blocked in; it was therefore necessary that it should be sent away to some place more conveniently situated for the purpose in mind. But this was a delicate operation. In order not to arouse England's suspicion the ships ought to leave singly, their apparent destination to be the Pacific or the Mediterranean. Even the officers should be kept in the dark as to the real motives until the very last minute. He concluded by saying that everything was to be gained from such a move and nothing to be lost. Supposing that the fleet failed in its purpose and in addition was destroyed, Russia's cause would not suffer, because, tied up at Cronstadt, it was both worthless and a care. If, however, the plan succeeded, much good would result.<sup>3</sup>

These arguments appealed to the emperor and he accepted Krabbe's propositions on July 7. Orders were at once given to put the ships in condition for foreign service and to provide them with money for two years. Rear-Admiral Unkovskii, a man of much naval experience, was offered the command of the Atlantic fleet, but, on his declining, the position was tendered to Captain Lisovskii, who was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral.

On July 26 Krabbe gave Lisovskii his instructions, which had received the approval of the emperor three days earlier. They were divided into fifteen points and were in substance as follows: "Your fleet is to consist of three frigates, three clippers, and two corvettes. In case of war destroy the enemy's commerce and attack his weakly defended possessions. Although you are primarily expected to operate in the Atlantic, yet you are at liberty to shift your activities to another part of the globe and divide your forces as you think best. After leaving the Gulf of Finland proceed directly to New York. It would be preferable to keep all the ships in that port, but if such an arrangement is inconvenient for the American government you may, with the advice of our representative in Washington, dispose of the vessels among the various Atlantic ports of the United States. When you learn that war has been declared it is left to you how to proceed, where to rendezvous, etc. Our minister will help you in the matter of supplies; he will have on hand a specially chartered boat to keep you informed of what is going on. Should you find out on the way that war has broken out begin operations at once. If soon after reaching New York you deem it wise to go to sea try to keep your fleet together until war is actually declared, but avoid the enemy, even commercial ships, so as

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 109, pt. I.

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to cover your tracks. If through our minister or some other reliable source you are told of the opening of hostilities, dispose of your ships and plan your campaign as may seem best. Captain Kroun is preceding you to America to prepare for your coming. Study the Treaty of Paris so as to be well informed on matters of neutrality. Should you meet with Rear-Admiral Popov consult with him as to the course to be pursued. Communicate in cipher. Hand in person your secret instructions to the officers. Whether there is war or not make a study of the commercial routes, of the strength and weakness of the European colonies, of desirable coaling stations for our fleet, and of the economic and military importance of our own possessions. These instructions are made purposely general in order to give you a free hand to act according to your judgment and discretion."<sup>4</sup>

Towards the end of January, 1862, Popov left Europe for Hong Kong, arriving there in April. During that summer he sent his ships to different places in the Far East to observe the strength and weakness of the European colonies and also to give his men the necessary training. He himself sailed from Kamchatka on August 26, to visit Sitka, Esquimalt, and San Francisco, anchoring in the last-named place on September 28. On the return voyage he called at Honolulu and from there steered for Nagasaki, where his fleet was to rendezvous in November. During the winter other cruises were made, and with the experience and knowledge thus acquired he was in a position to know how to act when called upon.

He had not very long to wait.<sup>5</sup> On April 24 Krabbe wrote him of the critical situation in Europe and warned him to be ready at any moment to attack the enemy. Gregg, one of the officers of the admiralty, notified him on June 3 that the news of the declaration of war would be telegraphed to him to Omsk (end of the line), whence a courier would take it to Tientsin by way of Kiakhta and Peking. A boat should be ready at the mouth of the Pei-ho River to meet the courier. Seventeen days later Krabbe sent a despatch similar to the above, adding that he could not promise that the news would reach Popov before it reached the English admiral. On July 31 there followed a telegram, to the effect that affairs had reached a most acute stage and that he must keep in close touch with the Russian minister in Peking and not be far from Hong Kong or Shanghai where European news was to be had. Popov had, how-

<sup>4</sup> A. M. M., D. K. M. M., no. 109, pt. I.

<sup>5</sup> An interesting account of Popov is found in the *Morskoi Sbornik* of August and October, 1914. Popov was a very able officer and his reports, found in the archives, throw much light on conditions in the North Pacific.

ever, made up his mind how to act. The letter sent by Krabbe on April 24 had come to his hand on July 20. On the following day he replied that he was going to San Francisco, and ordered a collier to Kodiak Island, Alaska, which place he intended for one of his bases.<sup>6</sup>

About the middle of July orders were also telegraphed to the commander of the frigate *Oslabia*, at that time in Greek waters, to sail for America. On the way he was to stop in Portugal in order to learn of the state of affairs, to give out the destination as Siberia, to keep on the trade route between Liverpool and the West Indies; and he was told where to join the main body of the fleet, and how to proceed in case of war. About the same time Kroun departed for New York to explain the plan of campaign to M. Stoeckl, Russian minister in Washington, and to make ready for the coming of Lisovskii.

Since the cruise has nothing whatever to do with American affairs it is interesting to know why United States ports were selected for a base of operations. Aside from the friendly relations that had always existed between the two nations there were special reasons why they should draw close to each other at this critical period. Alexander had freed the serfs; Lincoln was emancipating the slaves. The United States had been invited by France to join the powers in dictating to Russia upon the Polish problem and had declined; Russia had been asked by France to intervene in the Civil War and had refused. Russia was fighting against insurrection; the United States to put down rebellion. The two governments had similar problems and the same European enemies and that was reason enough why they should feel kindly towards each other.

There were, however, other reasons why the fleet should come to America. In order to carry out Krabbe's plan the ships could not remain in Russia, and there was no other place in Europe where they would be received in friendliness. On the other hand, if anchored in one of the Atlantic ports of the United States, it would be possible to dash out quickly and in a short time be on the trade routes. This condition held true in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic. Popov, who was not altogether bound as to his movements, decided to go to San Francisco for the following reasons. He had been there in 1859 and 1862 and had made many friends. If he should come again he was sure of a friendly reception. Every other available harbor in the Pacific, including those of Spanish America, was in the hands of the English, Dutch, Spaniards, Portuguese, or French, or under their influence. If he should enter a

<sup>6</sup> *Morskoi Sbornik*, October, 1914, pp. 35-40.

Chinese or Japanese port he would incur the danger of being blocked in by a superior force, for the enemy was certain to hear of the declaration of war two or three weeks before he did, because it had postal and telegraphic connections as far as Calcutta and fast boats from there to Shanghai. Of course he might wait in one of the Russian stations in the North Pacific, but these had neither postal nor telegraphic facilities, nor means for provisioning or repairing his ships, so that when he finally went to sea he would be greatly handicapped, and in place of seeking the enemy he would be looking for something to eat. Taking all these points into consideration, San Francisco seemed the most desirable port. The English and French, though numerous, were just then unpopular; the American population felt kindly towards the Russians, and their cruisers would be permitted to go and come as they pleased.<sup>7</sup>

When Lisovskii had received his orders he wrote to Captain Kroun to expect him in New York by September 1. Before entering the harbor he would send in one of his corvettes to learn of the state of affairs. If hostilities had not yet begun he would come in with all his force; if however the conflict was on, provisions should be sent to him to the island of Santa Catharina, Brazil, so as to reach there between November 1 and November 20. Supply ships should also be on hand by March 15, 1864, in Lobito Bay, Benguela, Western Africa, and by July 15 in San Matias Bay, Port San Antonio, Argentina.

Just before sailing Lisovskii called his officers together to acquaint them with the task before them. He decided that the first rendezvous should be in the Little Belt, and from there they would sail together, passing to the north of Great Britain, and try to reach New York before the war. If, however, after leaving the Belt a superior English and French force appeared and insisted on following, this would mean that it intended to attack as soon as war was announced. In that case Lisovskii was to signal, "separate on the first favorable occasion", and each ship was to take advantage of the fog or darkness to slip away and sail for New York. Should the opposing fleet act in an unfriendly manner, as by ordering the Russians back or in some such way, the admiral was to give the signal to attack. If in crossing the Atlantic it was learned that a state of war existed the plan of campaign was to be as follows. The *Alexander Nevskii* would operate on the route between Liverpool and South America, the *Peresviet* on the course taken by ships in going from England to the East Indies, the *Variag* was to look for commercial ships south of the equator, the *Vitiaz* between Cape

<sup>7</sup> A.M.M., D.K.M.M., no. 91, pt. II., p. 410.

Hope and St. Helena Island, and the *Almaz* to capture every vessel of the enemy sailing between the equator and five degrees to the north. If war was declared by October 15 the rendezvous would be Santa Catharina Island.<sup>8</sup>

It was the original intention to put in commission seven war-ships, but on examination two were discovered to be unseaworthy and were left behind. Before going very far Lisovskii must have concluded that the remaining five were far from being in condition for hard service. The sails did not fit, the sea poured in through the port-holes, the food was poor, the sailors were inexperienced, never having undertaken such a long and hard voyage: all of which caused hardships, and scurvy broke out.<sup>9</sup> Finally on September 24 the flagship *Alexander Nevskii* and the *Peresviet* sailed into New York, followed in the course of the next two days by the *Variag* and the *Vitiaz*, and fifteen days later by the *Almaz*. The *Oслиabia*, coming from the Mediterranean, had made this port about the middle of the same month.

The arrival of the fleet at New York came as a shock and surprise to London. Brunow, the Russian ambassador, who it seems was not advised of this piece of political strategy, became quite worried and convinced that this event would surely lead to war. He imparted his fears to Gortchakov, who began to question the wisdom of the whole thing and felt inclined to blame Krabbe. The latter stood his ground, and argued that England would not fight if her commerce would be endangered by so doing, and that a few Russian guns in the ocean would have more influence on England than a much larger number in Sevastopol.<sup>10</sup> Brunow and others were instructed to say, when questioned as to the purpose of the expedition, that the fleet was on its regular cruise to relieve other ships, and that until the European political situation was settled the ships would probably remain in the waters of the United States. It was for the European powers, particularly England, to draw whatever conclusions they pleased.

In their expectation to find a warm welcome in America the Russians were not disappointed. When Gideon Welles was officially notified of their coming he wrote to Stoeckl on September 23, expressing his pleasure at the news and placing at the service of the Russian admiral the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the other resources of the Navy Department. During the stay of the fleet in American waters deputations from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 109, pt. I., p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> *Morskoi Sbornik*, August, 1913, p. 43.

<sup>10</sup> A.M.M., D.K.M.M., no. 109, pt. II., p. 64.

Rhode Island, and other states came to pay their respects. Balls and banquets were given in honor of the officers, and the name of the emperor was cheered as the emancipator of the serfs and the friend of America. In their turn the Russians toasted the President and dwelt, as they were requested to do, on the historic friendship which bound Russia and America. All references to the European situation were purposely avoided. This was good diplomacy, for on the one hand it concealed the real purpose of the visit and on the other it strengthened the Americans in their belief that the fleet came especially for their benefit. The fact that this idea still has such a strong hold on our country shows how skillfully the game was played. It is only fair to say that this idea was not brought over on the fleet but was born on American soil. In their relations with the officers of England and France the Russians bore themselves in a friendly and correct manner. When the English and French ministers visited New York Lisovskii called on them, but only Lord Lyons returned the call."<sup>11</sup>

The festivities were not allowed to interfere with the main purpose of the visit. Stoeckl watched the political horizon and kept himself well informed of what was going on in Europe. About the middle of November it seemed as if a crisis had been reached and that war would surely follow. Lisovskii telegraphed for permission to go to the West Indies and there divide his forces for action. Krabbe replied, in December, advising him to remain where he was, and telling him that there was no danger of his being blocked in, because Stoeckl would warn him in plenty of time to make his escape.

Rear-Admiral Popov, with his squadron, consisting of the corvettes *Bogatir*, *Kalevala*, *Rinda*, and *Novik*, the clippers *Abrek* and *Gaidamak*, anchored in San Francisco harbor on October 12, and immediately put himself in touch with the legation in Washington. The officers and men were as warmly and as enthusiastically received on the Pacific as on the Atlantic. These courtesies and the hospitality were deeply appreciated by Popov and his men, and not in words only, for they expressed their gratitude in deeds. About three weeks after their arrival a big fire broke out in the city and the Russian officers and sailors rendered much valuable assistance in putting it out. For this service the city council passed resolutions of thanks which they framed and gave to Popov.<sup>12</sup> But the Russians were willing to do much more, not merely to help San Francisco but also to fight the battles of the nation, and if the proper

<sup>11</sup> A.M.M., D.K.M.M., no. 109, pt. II., pp. 72, 73, Stoeckl to Krabbe.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 91, pt. III., p. 34.



opportunity had come they would have done so. During the winter of 1863–1864 San Francisco was without the protection of a man-of-war. It was reported that the Confederate cruisers *Sumter* and *Alabama* were planning to attack the city. In view of this possibility Popov took measures to prevent it. He gave orders to his officers that should such a corsair come into port, the ranking officer of the fleet should at once give the signal “to put on steam and clear for action”. At the same time an officer should be despatched to the cruiser to hand to its commander the following note:

According to instructions received from His Excellency Rear-Admiral Popov, commander in chief of His Imperial Russian Majesty's Pacific Squadron, the undersigned is directed to inform all whom it may concern, that the ships of the above mentioned squadron are bound to assist the authorities of every place where friendship is offered them, in all measures which may be deemed necessary by the local authorities, to repel any attempt against the security of the place.

If no attention were paid to this warning and the cruiser should open fire it should be ordered to leave the harbor, and in case of refusal it should be attacked.<sup>13</sup> Russia came very near becoming our active ally.

Copies of these orders were sent to Stoeckl and Krabbe, who forwarded them to Gortchakov. The replies and comments of these men bring out in the clearest possible light Russia's attitude towards the Civil War. In his letter of March 13 to Popov, Stoeckl expressed himself in this manner. As he understood St. Petersburg diplomacy, so far as Russia is concerned there is neither North nor South but a United States, and therefore Russia has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of another nation and consequently Popov should keep out of the conflict.

From all the information to be obtained here [he goes on to say] it would seem that the Confederate cruisers aim to operate only in the open sea and it is not expected that cities will be attacked and San Francisco is in no danger. What the corsairs do in the open sea does not concern us; even if they fire on the forts, it is your duty to be strictly neutral. But in case the corsair passes the forts and threatens the city, you have then the right, in the name of humanity, and not for political reasons, to prevent this misfortune. It is to be hoped that the naval strength at your command will bring about the desired result and that you will not be obliged to use force and involve our government in a situation which it is trying to keep out of.<sup>14</sup>

Gortchakov thoroughly disapproved of Popov's plans and urged on him the strictest neutrality. He had foreseen the possibility of

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 103.

<sup>14</sup> *Morskoi Sbornik*, October, 1914, p. 45.

such a situation. In a letter of January 27, 1862, addressed to Krabbe, he had pointed out that although Russia had not declared her neutrality in the war between the states, yet her status was exactly the same as if she had done so. Russia did not intend to support the North against the South and the naval officers should be warned on that point.<sup>15</sup> There was nothing secret or deceitful in this attitude. He had made his position clear to the American government more than once. In a conversation with Bayard Taylor, our chargé d'affaires, on September 27, 1862, he had said, "We desire above all things the maintenance of the American Union. We can not take any part more than we have done. We have no hostility to the southern people."<sup>16</sup> The American public can without difficulty appreciate his stand, especially in view of our own attitude towards the European struggle now going on.<sup>17</sup>

During the winter months the European war clouds passed away. Russia held firm and won. England was willing to call names but not to fight, and France was helpless without England. Gradually the insurrection was put down and the excitement subsided. Officers of the Russian navy assert that the coming of the fleet to America was, if not altogether, at least in a very great measure, responsible for England's change of front and consequently for the prevention of the war.<sup>18</sup> Before this conclusion can be accepted evidence from English sources will have to be produced. The claim may have more substance than appears on the surface; the diplomatic aspect of the question as well as the strategic importance of such an expedition needs more investigation. It is true that the Russian papers and many of the statesmen of that time attached a great deal of value to the visit. When the fleet returned to Cronstadt the emperor reviewed it, thanked the officers for their service, and promoted nearly all of them. One writer states that Alexander II. looked on this cruise as one of the greatest practical

<sup>15</sup> A.M.M., D.K.M.M., no. 91, pt. I.

<sup>16</sup> *Exec. Docs.*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., II. 840 (1863-1864).

<sup>17</sup> In 1864 or 1865 (the exact date is difficult to determine from the document) while the Russian clipper *Izumrud* was anchored at Brest there was a report that the *Shenandoah* planned to attack a merchantman of one of the northern states. In view of this the commander of the clipper asked for instructions from the Russian minister at Paris as to what to do under the circumstances. In reply he was advised to avoid trouble with the *Shenandoah*, but "if in the presence of our ship the *Shenandoah* attacks any vessel of the North American States the commander of the *Izumrud* should render the latter every assistance [obiazuetisia okazat poslednomu vsiakoe sodieistvie] and make a report of the affair to our representative at Washington." See A.M.M., D.K.M.M., no. 106, p. 218.

<sup>18</sup> See article on this subject in *Voennaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. II. Also the writers in the *Morskoi Sbornik*, noted above, and the quotations which they give.

achievements in the history of the Russian navy and one of the noteworthy pages in the history of his reign.<sup>19</sup>

No one can question for a moment that this visit gave much moral support to the cause of the Union. At a time when European powers were plotting against us, when conditions at home were most discouraging, we felt that we had a friend in Russia. It put life and strength into the people of the North. Every one took the visit as a special mark of friendship and it was highly appreciated. Writing to Bayard Taylor on December 23, 1863, Seward says: "In regard to Russia, the case is a plain one. She has our friendship, in every case, in preference to any other European power, simply because she always wishes us well, and leaves us to conduct our affairs as we think best."<sup>20</sup> Its general effect on the whole nation is excellently stated by Rhodes:<sup>21</sup>

The friendly welcome of a Russian fleet of war vessels, which arrived in New York City in September; the enthusiastic reception by the people of the admiral and officers when offered the hospitalities of the city; the banquet given at the Astor House by the merchants and business men in their honor; the marked attention shown them by the Secretary of State on their visit to Washington "to reflect the cordiality and friendship which the nation cherishes towards Russia": all these manifestations of gratitude to the one great power of Europe which had openly and persistently been our friend, added another element to the cheerfulness which prevailed in the closing months of 1863.

On April 26, 1864, Gortchakov told Krabbe that the emperor said there was no longer any need for the fleet to remain in America. Lisovskii was notified the next day to get ready to return home. Somewhat similar orders were despatched to San Francisco.

In the course of their stay in American waters the officers visited many cities and were everywhere entertained with pleasure. Before departing from our shores the Russians gave a reception at Washington to which were invited members of the Cabinet, Congress, and many other leading men of the country. It was a brilliant affair and one of the social events of the season. This brought to an end a unique and interesting episode in Russo-American diplomatic relations.

It is, of course, true that the fleet was not ordered to America for our benefit, but this should not blind us to the fact that we did profit by the event as if this had been the case. If, as the Russians maintain, the presence of their ships in our waters saved them from

<sup>19</sup> *Voennaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. II.

<sup>20</sup> *Exec. Docs.*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., II. 851 (1863-1864).

<sup>21</sup> Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV. 418.

a struggle in which they were not in a position to engage, we should be very proud that it was in our power to do so. It was a most extraordinary situation: Russia had not in mind to help us but did render us distinct service; the United States was not conscious that it was contributing in any way to Russia's welfare and yet seems to have saved her from humiliation and perhaps war. There is probably nothing to compare with it in diplomatic history.

F. A. GOLDER.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### HOW THE MIDDLE AGES GOT THEIR NAME

IN my study "Anent the Middle Ages" (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVIII. 710-726, 1913) I pointed out that the oft-made ascription of the idea of a Middle Age to the Italian Humanists lacked as yet demonstration, and that the earliest use of that term thus far discovered by the students of historical periodization carries us back only to the German text-book writer Cellarius (Keller) in 1685, or at farthest to a sporadic utterance of the Liège scholar Rausin in 1639. But in the last months a more systematic research has brought notable revision of this result. Professor Paul Lehmann of Munich, assuming the editorship of the *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* founded by Ludwig Traube, opens the first issue (1914) of its new fifth volume with an historical sketch "Vom Mittelalter und von der Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters". In this study (brought to my attention by my colleague Hamilton) he shows the phrase *medium aevum* in use by the German jurist-historian Goldast as early as 1604, while the synonymous phrase *media aetas* was used almost a century earlier (1518) by the Swiss scholar Vadian (Joachim von Watt), whose Basel neighbors Beatus Rhenanus and the publisher Heerwagen were at about the same time expressing the same idea by *media antiquitas* and *media tempora*. Nay, this last locution or one close akin to it, *media tempestas*, Lehmann has detected a half-century earlier, in 1469, and indeed in the mouth of an Italian Humanist. In the edition of Apuleius brought out that year at Rome is a letter of Giovanni Andrea (de' Bossi?), bishop of Aleria and later librarian of the Vatican, who, paying a warm tribute to his German friend Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464), declares him to have been familiar with all histories, not only the ancient, "sed mediae tempestatis tum veteres tum recentiores usque ad nostra tempora". The "to our times" suggests that to the bishop his *media tempestas* meant the whole period intervening since the ancients and had no hither terminus; but his distinction between "the older" and "the more recent" betrays his consciousness of a transition, and his equivocal phrase, borrowed by later notices of Nicholas, as by Hartmann Schedel in the Nuremberg Chronicle (1493) and by Lefèvre of Étapes in his standard edition (1514)

of the works of the Cusan, may not impossibly be the parent of the later use. But it is clear from the variants that we have to do with the history of an idea, not of a phrase; and even Lehmann's careful research makes no claim to exhaustiveness.

To the English-speaking student it is of interest to note that our use of a plural finds an early precedent in *media tempora*, and that so early as 1611 (Lehmann says 1612, but the edition of 1612 was a reprint) the learned Bodleian librarian, Thomas James, in his *Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture*, was using the adjective "middle aged". Already Vadian had coined the German *mittel-jährig*.

GEORGE L. BURR.



## DOCUMENTS

### 1. *Observations of Superintendent John Stuart and Governor James Grant of East Florida on the Proposed Plan of 1764 for the Future Management of Indian Affairs.*

THE problem of Indian management in America became an increasingly important one after the opening of the French and Indian War. The tendency subsequent to this time was to transfer the control of Indian affairs from the colonies to the central government. The first important step in this direction was taken in 1755, when the government took over the political control of the Indians and appointed two superintendents to have charge of the different nations. The next step, taken in 1761, was to take the purchase of Indian lands out of the hands of the colonies and place it under the control of the home government. When the issue of the war was known, a still more important step was taken respecting the Indian trade and its concomitant, the fur-trade, with the announcement of the king's proclamation in October following the treaty of cession.<sup>1</sup> The main provisions of the proclamation are too well known to be restated in this connection. Attention may be redirected, however, to one or two clauses. In addition to reserving for the present the unorganized territory between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River for the use of the Indians, the government guaranteed the Indians in the possession of these lands by announcing in the proclamation that no governor or commander-in-chief would be allowed to make land grants within this territory, and further prohibited "for the present" all land purchases and settlements within this territory. Trade within this reservation was, however, made free to all who would obtain a license from the governor or commander-in-chief of the colony in which they resided.

The proclamation provided, moreover, for the later publication of rules for the control of the Indian trade. The Board of Trade delayed action in the matter, however, until late in the spring of 1764, at which time men familiar with the Indian trade were consulted. Probably the greatest influence came from Sir William Johnson, whose agent, George Croghan, was present in London for the purpose of laying before the board his superior's opinion. The

<sup>1</sup> Shortt and Doughty, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (Canadian Archives, Ottawa, 1907), 119-123.

most important reform desired by Johnson was the creation of a department independent of the military and with an adequate number of employees to supervise efficiently the Indian traders. The plan as suggested by the board, under the direction of Hillsborough, embodies most of Johnson's ideas. According to the proposed scheme<sup>2</sup> British North America was to be divided into two districts, each under the control of a general superintendent or agent appointed by the crown. The Ohio River was designated as the approximate line of division. In these two districts the regulation of such Indian affairs as treaties, land purchases, questions of peace and war, and trade relations was to be entrusted to the superintendents, who were to be entirely free from outside interference. Without the superintendent's consent no civil or military officer could interfere with the trade or other affairs of any of the Indian tribes. The Indian trade was to be under the direct supervision of the general superintendent. Traders who desired to go among the Indians to ply their trade could do so by obtaining a license from the province from which they came. The region into which the traders intended to go was to be clearly defined in the license and each had to give bond for the observance of the laws respecting the trade. Provision was made for the determining of the value of all goods, and traders were forbidden to charge more than the price fixed. For the still better regulation of the trade, it was to be centred, in the northern district, about the regularly fortified and garrisoned posts, and in the southern, in the towns of the several tribes.

Such, in brief outline, are some of the main provisions of the plan. On account of the proposal to raise a tax from the fur-trade for the support of the establishment it would have been necessary for Parliament to act upon this plan. Such action, however, was never taken. The Stamp Act disturbances made such a proposal inexpedient. The superintendents of Indian affairs were instructed, nevertheless, to put the plan into operation as far as possible.<sup>3</sup> John Stuart of the Southern Department immediately did this, but Johnson delayed till 1766. It was soon apparent that the cost of this establishment would be enormous; hence proposals were made to change the organization. The change was finally made in 1768 by placing the control of the trade in the hands of the colonies.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *New York Colonial Documents*, VII. 637; Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 433; Alvord and Carter, *Illinois Historical Collections*, X. 273.

<sup>3</sup> "Representation of the Lords of Trade on the State of Indian Affairs", March 17, 1768, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Hillsborough to Johnson, April 15, 1768, *ibid.*, VIII. 57, 58.

Before hope that the plan might be put into complete operation was abandoned, however, it was submitted to various persons for their opinion, particularly to the two general superintendents, to the governors of colonies immediately concerned, and to such other officials as, on account of their positions, might be expected to offer suggestive criticisms. There are available, at present, the criticisms of Sir William Johnson,<sup>5</sup> superintendent for the Northern Department, John Stuart, superintendent for the Southern Department, Benjamin Franklin,<sup>6</sup> Richard Jackson,<sup>7</sup> who was secretary for Grenville in 1763 and afterwards closely associated with Shelburne when he was Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Colonel John Bradstreet,<sup>8</sup> Lieut.-Gov. Colden of New York,<sup>9</sup> Governor James Grant of East Florida, Governor George Johnstone of West Florida, and an unnamed author.<sup>10</sup> The two published herewith, Stuart's and Grant's, have not hitherto been printed. They will doubtless be suggestive to students interested in the history of imperial administration in the southern colonies subsequent to 1763.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PLAN FOR THE FUTURE MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS HUMBLY SUBMITTED TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.<sup>11</sup>

Article 1st

PANZACOLA 1st December 1764

The first and main step towards the right Governing of Indians and bringing them under some Police will be having Good men Traders in the different Nations subjected to good and wholesome regulations; this can hardly be effected while each Governor of the several Provinces can grant a Licence to any person to Trade indiscriminately to all the Indian Nations; General Licences are now granted to particular people, which extend to all the Towns in every Nation within this Department, by Virtue of which they permitt their Substitutes to Trade wherever they pleased I have seen such a permitt from a Trader Licenced in South Carolina which concludes ("Given at my Office in Augusta") this keeps up that Competition and Jealousy between the provinces or the Trading people in the Different provinces, which I always considered as incompatible with good Order and Government among Indians, to

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 661-666.

<sup>6</sup> *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (Smyth ed.), IV. 467-471.

<sup>7</sup> Lansdowne MSS., LVII. 84. This is being printed in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, vol. XI.

<sup>8</sup> *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII. 690-694.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 667-670.

<sup>10</sup> Long letter of Johnstone, January 2, 1765, in P. R. O., C. O. 323: 20. The anonymous paper is in Lansdowne MSS., LVII. 84.

<sup>11</sup> P. R. O., C. O. 323: 19, 20. Indorsed "Observations by John Stuart Esqr. His Majesty's Superintendant, on the Plan for the future Management of Indian Affairs. In Mr Stuart's Letter of 8 Decr 1764. Read."

this must be attributed, the late Messages which I have received from the Creek Nation prohibiting all Trade from or communication with this Province, at the same time expressing such partiality in favour of the *Old Path* (meaning the Road by which the Traders go from Georgia into that Nation,) <sup>12</sup> and refusing to permitt our Settling Any Lands to the East ward of Mobile Bay. <sup>13</sup> The Quantity of Peltry and Furs now purchased from and the Consumption of British Commodities by the Indians in this District, will not be enlarged, by a greater Number of Traders, they are Now at their Utmost Extent, so that the Interest of the Nation cannot be affected by confining the Trade to a limited Number of good Men, the whole Quantity of Deer skins Extracted Annually from all the Nations in this District does not exceed Eight Hundred Thousand pounds, half dressed, which at 2 shillings p lb. is Eighty Thousands Pounds Stirling, the leaving of which open to all His Majesty's Subjects, I humbly Conceive not to be an Object worth pursuing at the expence of Good Order and regularity among the Indians. <sup>14</sup>

#### Article 2d

I apprehend the Illinouis Indians will more properly belong to this District than the Northern, as the facility of Water Carriage upon the Mississippi will Naturally connect that Country with this Province from whence it will of Course be Supplied with Goods and Traders who must give bond and be responsible for their Conduct, here; the Country of the Illinois is about 1200 miles by Land from Pitsburg and about seven hundred Miles from Detroit, so that their Supplies from the Northern provinces by these places, would be extreemly precarious and attended with very great Charges; the Traders and persons concerned in the Management of Indian Affairs would be too remote from the principal Jurisdiction, if that Country be Annexed to the Northern Department; the Distance from this place to Illinois by Land is Three Hundred and Fifty French Leagues, which an Indian Courier will perform in Twenty Days, and the Voyage from thence Down the River is often performed in twelve and fourteen days, so that Intelligence may be received from and Orders sent to that Country from this Province Much sooner than could possibly be effected from Any part of the Northern district. <sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In a talk by the Mortar to John Stuart, July 22, 1764, occurs the following observation in connection with the relations of the Creeks to the new province of West Florida. He "desires that his Nation may be supplied with Goods from Augusta as they have been for many Years, and that he will not suffer any Horses with Goods either from Panzacola or Mobile to come to his Nation". Journal of Proceedings by John Stuart, November 1 to December 1, 1764. P. R. O., C. O. 323: 23.

<sup>13</sup> In the following summer, however, at the congress held at Pensacola the Creeks ceded virtually all the territory lying between the bays of Pensacola and Mobile. See text of treaty in *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I. 213. For discussion see P. J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, p. 244 *et seq.*

<sup>14</sup> For similar statements see Barrington's plan for the West, May 10, 1766, Lansdowne MSS., L. 45; Gage to Taylor, August 11, 1766, Canadian Archives, B. 2-2: 114; Governor Wright to Shelburne, November 29, 1766, Lansdowne MSS., LIII. 203.

<sup>15</sup> Sir William Johnson favored the inclusion of the Illinois Indians in the Northern Department. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII. 661.

The last Post belonging to the French in the Department of Louisiana was that of Vincenne on the Oubache it is 155 Leagues by Water and six days Journey by Land from Illinois, this post is Sixty, french Leagues below the Towns of the Yaughtanous,<sup>16</sup> and about 120 Leagues from the Miamis on the same River, those Nations were always supplied from the Illinois, this I mention that Your Lordships may with Greater propriety determine what Department they shall belong to; I am of Opinion that the Departments and the jurisdiction of the Superintendants will be better distinguished by exact Lists of the Nations or Tribes that shall be judged to belong to them, than by any Line or Boundary but if Your Lordships shall Judge a precise fixed boundary Necessary I think it may be very distinctly ascertained, by the Degree of Latitude.

Article 3d

I humbly propose that the Traders for the small Nations on the Mississippi and the Lakes, be fixed at Point Iberville, if that River can be rendered Navigable, in which Event, a Post will be established there.

Article 7th

One sett of Officers will be Sufficient for the Small Nations on the Lakes Pontchartrain, Maurepas and the Eastern Bank of the Mississippi, who I humbly propose shall reside at Point Iberville where it is proposed to established a Post; One sett of Officers for the Chactaw Nation, to reside at Tombeckby,<sup>17</sup> where there are very good Accommodations; one Sett in the Chickasaw Nation, and one Sett to reside at Fort De Chartres, in the Illinois Nation; as the Upper and Lower Creeks consider them Selves in Many respects as different people and live at a Distance from each Other, I am of Opinion that two Setts of Officers will be Necessary, one to reside at Fort Apalache<sup>18</sup> the other at the Albama Fort,<sup>19</sup> Two setts of Officers will likewise be necessary for the Cherokee Nation, the Lower and Over-Hill Settlements of which are 160 Miles distant, the Officers for the Upper Cherokees to reside at Chotee,<sup>20</sup> those for the lower at Fort Prince George;<sup>21</sup> as the Catawbias, Lower Chickasaws Near Augusta Tuscaroas in North Carolina Notteways and Samponys in Virginia live among our Settlements and are immediately under the Eye of Government the Expençe of Officers for

<sup>16</sup> Ouiatanons. Other variants are Wea, Wee, Wawaughtanneys, Wawetannes, etc. The town of Ouiatanon (on the site of the present city of Lafayette, Indiana), is sometimes referred to as Weaugh Town. Consult the Bureau of American Ethnology's *Handbook of American Indians*, II. 174, 925; Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, II., index.

<sup>17</sup> Near the junction of the Black Warrior and the Tombigbee rivers, in Sumter County, Ala.

<sup>18</sup> At or near St. Marks, Florida, near Apalachee Bay.

<sup>19</sup> Built by the French in 1715 and called by them Fort Toulouse. It stood just above the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa rivers near the site of Montgomery, Ala.

<sup>20</sup> Great Echota (or Chota), the ancient capital and "peace town" of the Cherokees, was on the south side of Little Tennessee River, in Monroe County, Tenn.

<sup>21</sup> On the northern fork of the Keowee River, in Pickens County, S. C.

them well may be Saved, except an Armourer for the Catawbias and One for the Tuscororas.

Article 9th

As in this Extensive Department both Superintendant's deputies may be Necessarily employed when the Office of Commissary in any one of the Districts may become Vacant by Death, Suspension or Resignation, I humbly propose that the Superintendant may, in any such Case, have the power of appointing a Commissary untill His Majesty's pleasure be known.

Article 10th

I humbly propose to Your Lordships that no provincial Agent shall be sent into the Indian Nations from any of the Provinces, but that all Talks and Transactions of a public Nature, shall be transmitted to the Indians by the Commissaries residing in their respective Nations.

Article 24th

In observing upon Article first I submitted to Your Lordships such inconveniencies as arise from the Different Governors being impowered to grant Licences to any and every person to Trade in all the Nations without Reserve or Restriction, when South Carolina was the Frontier Province, that Government very properly took the Lead in all Indian Affairs without Competition, but now the Colonies of Georgia, East and West Florida intervene and by their Situation have More immediate Intercourse with the Chactaws, Creeks, Chickasaws and the Nations on the Mississippi from which South Carolina is so remote, that she can have little or no Connection with them except what may arise by sending their Traders seven or eight Hundred Miles; I would therefore humbly propose to Your Lordships that instead of this general and Unlimited Manner of Licenceing Traders to the Indian Nations, some other be adopted by which the Competition and Confusion arising from Crowds of Traders and Packhorsemen being Sent indiscriminately from the different Provinces May be avoided. I beg leave to submit the following proposals, First that the Power of granting Licences be vested in the Superintendant; that a certain limited Number of Traders be licenced, giving security as in Article 25th, That one Trader be allowed to every Hundred and fifty Gun-Men in each Nation except the Chactaws, who from the inability of the French to send Traders among them, and of Course the Small Demand for their Deer skins before the Cession of this Country as well as the Very limited Extent of their Hunting Ground, are become indolent and very bad Hunters; of these I would propose that one Trader should be allowed Two Hundred Gun-Men, I also propose that each Trader be Licenced for a particular District, where he Must reside and Trade; but should it appear to Your Lordships improper to vest the Superintendant with Power from a possibility of his being partial or using it to self-Interested purposes, then I propose that a person Not concerned in Indian Trade shall be deputed from each of the Councils of the four Southern Provinces in this District to meet the Superintendant at Saint Augustine at certain fixed times, once in One, Two or Three Years as shall be judged proper to form a Board for renewing and granting Licences in the Manner above Mentioned and Under the regulations in this plan,



at which Meeting the Superintendant shall preside and in Case of an equal division his Voice to be decisive; And in Case of the Death of any Trader, the Superintendant shall have power to Licence some other person in his room, which Licence shall be Valid and Effectual, till the meeting of the Board for Granting and renewing Licences as above proposed, and I beg leave farther to propose to your Lordships, that the Superintendant may be impowered to take away the Licence of any Trader who shall Misbehave and not conform to such regulations as shall be by Your Lordships judged Necessary.<sup>22</sup>

Article 33d

I do not consider the regulation of Trade to Indian Nations in this Department, as the principal object of this plan, but as a Necessary Step towards the proper Government of Indians,<sup>23</sup> for as I have already observed the Extraction of Furrs and peltry from and the Consumption of British Manufactures by these Nations are at their Utmost extent, and will not be increased or diminished by the Mode of carrying on the Trade; If therefore it shall be determined, to limit the Traders to the Indian Nations as above Mentioned, a Tariff for carrying on the Trade appears to me to be the Next Necessary Step: all the Different Nations of Indians in this Department have constantly Fixed and determined the Value of European Commodities by pounds of Deer Skins, either half dressed or in the Hair; this they found Necessary to prevent Disputes, which otherwise would have been endless; I propose that the Tariff be settled at a Congress with each of the different Nations, at which all the Traders to such Nation shall be present, and that it shall be with the Mutual consent of both Parties, which will remove the least appearance of injustice on either Side; I shall endeavor to regulate the prices so as to encourage good people to venture themselves and their properties amongst the Indians, while proper care shall be taken that the Indians are not imposed upon or any Unreasonable Advantage taken of their Necessities; if the Traders are allowed to under-sell each other it will create great Jealousy and Discontent among the Indians who will constantly think themselves imposed upon, it will like-wise in time so reduce the prices of our Commodities, that none but the Lowest Class of people will be encouraged to go into the Nations for a bare Sustainance;

<sup>22</sup> The article thus criticized is as follows: "That all persons intending to trade with the Indians, shall take out Licenses for that purpose, under the hand or seal of the Governor or Commander in Chief of the Colony from which they intend to carry on such Trade, for every of which Licenses, no more shall be demanded or taken than two Shillings." *Op. cit.* Richard Jackson observed concerning this article: "I have an objection of a singular kind to the Prohibition of Trade to be carried on without a License from a Governor. The fee is certainly easy, but ways will infallibly be found to introduce the Practice of making a Present, and to make it worth an Indian Traders while not to hesitate about the giving it, if practices of this sort have prevailed too much in England, they cannot but be justly feared at so great a Distance from the Eye of Government". Lansdowne MSS., LVII. 84. Sir William Johnson's view of this provision was likewise adverse. *Op. cit.*, p. 664.

<sup>23</sup> This does not appear to have been the view held by the successive ministries and by the various groups in the ministries during this period. For discussion of this point see Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, chapter V.

as such Men are generally inferiour to the Indians in their Understanding and Much more depraved in their Morals, the Indians Naturally judging of all White-People from those with whom they Must daily Converse, will soon regard us with the greatest contempt and Hatred, this really was the Case in the Cherokee Nation, where, by a Mistaken Policy of the Government of South-Carolina, the prices of Goods were So reduced, that For many Years there has not been a Trader in that Nation but was Bankrupt; which hindered the Indians from being well supplied; whilst they were every day Cheated and abused by the wretched Traders, and to this principally was owing that discontent and Disorder which Ended in an open War with that Nation.<sup>24</sup>

#### Article 43rd

If the Traders to the Indian Nations can be Limited and a Tariff established in the Manner which I have submitted to Your Lordships, I think Deer-Skins and furs exported from this Department will bear a Duty, to be received by the Collectors of His Majesty's Customs at the Different ports of Entry, where such skins shall be shipped for Europe.

Civil Government has but very lately taken place here<sup>25</sup> and His Majesties Troops have not as Yet taken possession of the Illinois, nor have we any Traders to that Country and the small Nations of Indians on the Mississippi, so that it is impossible to ascertain the Quantity of Furs and Peltry that may be exported from hence; I have in General estimated the Value in all this Department to be near £80,000 Sterling, from which a Duty of 10 p Ct. will produce £8000 Sterling; I do not know what quantity of Beaver and Furs may be Exported by our Traders in the New-Ceded Countries, but the French carried on a very extensive Trade from the Illinois, up the Messourie and to the Nations to the Westward of the Mississippi; As the Spaniards are now daily expected to take possession of French Louisiana, and as their regulations of Commerce to their American Countries extreamly Vigorous, it is very propable that a Strict Execution of them may prove an Obstacle to their supplying the Indians properly; and that in such Case the Nations on the Missourie and to the Westward of the Mississippi may bring their skins and furs to Barter at the Illinois and other English posts; I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Trade in the Northern Department to form any Estimate of its amount or what Duty it will bear, but if Your Lordships find upon Examination that the Trade will bear the Expence of the Indian Establishment, I humbly propose, that all Duties and imposts on peltry and furs by provincial Laws be taken off; If the regulations proposed by your Lordships take place; I beg leave to lay before You the following Calculation of Expences, for Officers on the Indian Establishment in which I consider that they

<sup>24</sup> Such a tariff as suggested here was put into operation by Stuart. A copy of the tariff is attached to Stuart's "Regulations for the better carrying on of the Trade with the Indian Tribes in the Southern District", enclosed in a letter of Stuart to the Board of Trade, July 28, 1767. P. R. O., C. O. 323: 25, 26.

<sup>25</sup> George Johnstone, who had been commissioned governor of West Florida, did not arrive at Pensacola, the capital of the province, till October 21, 1764. Johnstone to Halifax, October 31, 1764, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I. 152. In the interval the province had been governed by the military.

are not to be concerned in Trade and that their Sallaries are to be their Sole Dependance as well as their inducement to live in the Indian Countries.

Calculations of Expences attending the Indian Establishment in the Southern Department.

For the Illinois if it shall belong to this Department.

A Deputy p Ann .....	£200.—
Clerk .....	50.—
Interpreter .....	50.—
Armourer .....	36.—
	<hr/>
	£336.—..

Iberville

Commissary for the small Nations.....	£150.—..
Clerk .....	50.—..
Interpreter .....	50.—..
Armourer .....	36.—..
	<hr/>
	286.—..

Chacktaws, Officers as above .....	286.—..
Chickasaws .....	286.—..
Upper Creeks .....	286.—..
Lower Creeks .....	286.—..
Upper Cherokees .....	286.—..
Lower Cherokees .....	286.—..
The Catabas. An Armourer .....	36.—..
The Tusaroras—Ditto .....	36.—..
Two Deputy Agents @ £200 p Annum each.....	400.—..
Two Clerks for Ditto @ £50 .....	each 100.—..
Stationary and Expences of office £50 .....	each 100.—..
	<hr/>
	3010.—

Superintendant @ .....p Ann:  
 Secretary for Indian Affairs .....p Ann:  
 Two Clerks .....p Ann:  
 Present Provisions and Other Contingent Expenses £

The Expence of the Officers upon the Indian Establishment, the Superintendant etc.; can be easily ascertained by Your Lordships, but the Expence of the Necessary presents Annually to the Chiefs of the Different Nations, and the provisions for them at the different Posts, as well as the Many other Contingencies in the Department will for some time be considerable and cannot at this time be easily ascertained; the French annual presents in European Commodities to the Chactaw Nation Amounted to near £4000 Sterling besides provisions and small Gratifications to all visiting parties and at their Annual general Meetings at which no less than four thousand souls were commonly present, and where all the Chiefs were entertained at a great Expence; a too sudden alteration of this Conduct will certainly be attended with much danger, the Indians are discerning, and know the weak State of the New Colonies, and how incapable they are even to support a Defensive war with them, which will always be favourable to the Indians and destructive to us.

The Spaniards are hourly Expected to take possession of New Orleans, with 4000 regulars, they may attempt to seduce the Indians on our side of the Mississippi, and from the Measures pursuing by them and the Governor of New Orleans, their doing so is greatly to be Suspected and guarded against; for the person appointed second in Command in Louisiana, is a French-Man Mr. Villemont who was for Many Years an Officer in this Country and remarkable for his address in the Management of Indians and the principal French Interpreters and people Most acquainted with the Chactaws and other Nations are said to be retained by Mr Dabbadie for them; a Number of the Most leading Chiefs of the Chactaw Nation with their followers are now at New Orleans upon invitation, all which Evinces the Necessity of continuing to Treat the Indians upon the French Plan, till they can be Made Sensible of the benefit arising from a British Government and a plentiful and well regulated Trade; it is probable the greatest Efforts of the Spaniards to attach the Indians to their Interest, will be made on their first arrival, in which if they fail, there will not be much to be apprehended from their future attempts, altho' the Difficulty and Ex-  
pence in Managing the Indians will be greatly encreased by the least Competition for their friendship.

The whole Ex-  
pence for annual presents to the Chiefs in the Different Nations, Provisions, the Consumption of which by the Indians at the Different Posts is very Considerable, small Gratifications on particular Occasions, Expresses, Carryage, Occasional Deputies and Commissaries of Presents and provisions, Interpreters, and Leaders of parties, with many other unforeseen Contingencies, with the greatest Oeconomy cannot Amount to much Less than £11000 sterling P Annum, exclusive of the Establishment of Officers above mentioned.

This Ex-  
pence may appear very considerable but I flatter myself, that if peace with and good Order Among the Nations that surround us, can be purchased with it, Your Lordships will not think the Money badly applied. I need not mention to Your Lordships the great Sums that a Two Years War with The Cherokee Nations alone cost Great Britain, as well as the province of South Carolina, besides the Great Effusion of Blood and devastation of half that Province; and I beg leave farther to observe, that the Two Florida's can never be brought to Answer the Intent of Colonies or rendered useful to the Mother Country without Peace and Friendship be Maintained with the surrounding Nations, till they arrive at such a State of Maturity as will make them respectable and enable them to stand alone: and if they are to be supported by a great Military Force, as the Most Eligible alternative, The above Ex-  
pence in a comparative point of View will appear but small. At the same time I am conscious that the sum of £15000 Sterg Annually is more than the Indian Trade in this department will bear; and I doubt much if Furrs and peltry, exclusive of Beaver, in both Departments will defray the Expences of the Indian Establishment, without including the Hudsons Bay Company's Trade, or the Provinces contributing to the Support of an Establishment by which they will reap such great advantages.

My Zeal to forward His Majesties Service and obey Your Lordships Commands, induces me to submit my sentiments with plainness and Candor, as I consider the preservation of Peace with and introducing good order among the Indians as the principal Object pursued:

I proposed the Limitation of The Traders and settling the prices of Goods by Tariff as essentially Necessary to attain it. If extending our Trade was the sole point in view, I am conscious that Objections from the freedom which is an essential principle of Commerce would unanswerably arise to the proposed restrictions; but in the prosecution of this plan they appear to me indispensibly Necessary.

I am likewise conscious that some alterations which, in obedience to Your Lordships Commands, I thought my Duty to propose in the general plan may draw upon me the Imputation of wanting to throw too much power into the Hands of the Superintendant, which Office I have at this time the Honour to fill, and in which as I am conscious of having always endeavoured to discharge my Duty faithfully, I hope for His Majesty's gracious Continuance.

I most sincerely wish to see the powers Necessary for the Execution of this Plan so placed, that they may Effectually Answer every End proposed by them, whilst no person can have it in his power to make a bad use of them.

Your Lordships great knowledge will distinguish, what may be useful in the above observations, and reject the rest; but I consider a *Line* by which the powers of the Different Governors in Indian Affairs and that of the Superintendant may be clearly ascertained and pointed out as essential to the Intent of this plan: and likewise that it shall be clearly determined how far the P[r]ovinces shall For the future have the power of Making Laws for the Government of Indians, and regulating the Trade to their respective Nations.

All which is most Humbly submitted by

My Lords

Your Lordships

Most Obedient and

Most devoted Humble Servant

A List of Indian Tribes in the Southern District of North America.<sup>28</sup>

	Gun-Men
Cherokees .....	2800
Creeks .....	3600
Chicasaws .....	500
Chactaws .....	5000
Catabas .....	70
Beloxies	On the British side of the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain .....
Chactoes	
Capinas	
Panchaculas	
Washaws	
Chawasaws	On the East side of the Mississippi and above point Coupee .....
Pascagulas	
Tonecas	
Affoulas	
Querphas	In North Carolina .....
Tuscaroras....	
Nottways	
Saponys	In Virginia .....

<sup>28</sup> Consult *Handbook of American Indians*.

Natchees	}	Near the Creek and Cherokee Nations . . . . .	160
Utchees			
Savanahs	}	Tribes at the Illinois if that shall be determined to be in this district . . . . .	200
Cascaskias			
Caskeyas	}	Upon the Island of Orleans . . . . .	150
Humas			
Callipisas	}	On the French side of the Mississippi. Two Leagues below point Eberville . . . . .	100
Tensas			
Chattimasaus	}	Opposite to, and a little above point Iberville on the French side . . . . .	150
Italapales			
Ucanachitees	}	On the River Rouge . . . . .	350
Peluches			
Attacapas	}	On the River of that Name . . . . .	250
Apalaches			
Natchetoches	}	Total Number of Gun-Men in the Southern District . . . . .	13941
Addays			
Cadoes	}		
Lasonettes			
Ayches	}		
Amadyches			
Arkansas. . . . .	On the River of that Name . . . . .		250
Total Number of Gun-Men in the Southern District . . . . .			13941

Altho' many of the Tribes contained in the above List are not properly speaking in the Southern District, being in the French part of Louisiana, yet it is of great Consequence to cultivate their Friendship, as they have it in their Power to obstruct Our Navigation on the Mississippi and prevent our making Settlements on the Eastern Bank of that River, by far the first part of West Florida; Yet any Intercourse with them should be with the Knowledge of the Governor of New Orleans, to remove every Pretext for his interfering with Our Indians without our Consent.

Calculation of Extraordinary Contingencies in the Southern District.

Annual Presents to the Chactaws and Nations on the River Mississippi	£3500.—
To the Cherokee Creek and Chickasaw Nations	2500
Provisions, Wine, Tobacco and Rum at General Meetings and to visiting Parties	2000
Commissary of presents and provisions in West Florida at 6/3 [6s. 3d.] p day	114.1.3
The same in East Florida	114.1.3
To an Interpreter for the Chactaw Language and one Ditto for the Creek Language at Mobile @ 1 Dollar each p Day	170.6.8
The same at Panzacola	170.6.8
To One Interpreter for the Creek Language at St. Augustine	85.3.4
For Expresses, particular Gratifications, Carriage, Horsehire, occasional Deputies, and other unforeseen Contingencies in this Department	2346..0..10
	<u>£11,000.—</u>



In the above Estimate I calculate the Expence of Interpreters living in the Provinces @ 85.3.4 p Ann each, and of those residing in the Different Nations @ 50.— only because Men may be had in any of the Nations, who will gladly accept of such Settlements, but No man can possibly live in either New Province for less than £85 p Ann.

I beg leave to observe to Your Lordships that purchasing the presents in the Cheapest Manner in England will be Necessary in Order to keep within the sum proposed by the above calculation, which is not much more than the Charge of One Regiment in Cantonment in America.

GOVERNOR JAMES GRANT TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, DECEMBER 1, 1764.<sup>27</sup>  
St. AUGUSTINE 1st December 1764.

*My Lords*

In my Letter of the 22d Ultimo, I had the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Plan for the future management and Direction of Indian Affairs, Which I have considered, and shall now take the liberty to Report my Opinion upon the particular Parts of it; upon which you wish to receive further Information and Intelligence.

The Expedient of naming the several Nations to be comprehended in each District, will answer better than the natural Boundary of the Ohio, Because the Indians, by that means, may be continued in their former Channel of Trade, And an Innovation with them, tho' apparently to their Advantage, will always be attended with Difficulty.

The Nations upon the Ohio were supplied, by the French, from Quebec and Montreal, at Presque Isle, Riviere au Beufs, Venango, and Fort du Quesne; They never had any Communication with the French in Louisiana, And therefore they fall more properly under the Northern District, because they will Chuse to Trade at the places which I have mentioned and those can be easily supplied with Goods, as there is a water Communication to them, from New York by the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers and the Lakes Ontario and Erie, and from Canada by the River St. Laurens, a few Carrying Places in each of the Navigations Excepted.

I find Your Lordships' have included the Illinois Indians in the Northern District. Their Trade has always been carried on with the French from New Orleans, they never had much Communication with the Canadians, except in Cases of great emergency a little before the Reduction of that Country: They must, I imagine, be supplied with goods, up the Mississippi, from West Florida, that will be the least expensive Carriage. And therefore I apprehend those Nations will more properly fall under the Southern District.

Carrying on a Trade with Indians at established Posts, is by much the most eligible Method, and it would be to the Advantage of Government, If that Plan could likewise be extended to the Southern Provinces, But as such a Change, with many of those Nations with whom we are but little acquainted, would be attended with too many Inconveniencies and Difficulties to be Attempted at present, That matter may come under

<sup>27</sup> P. R. O., C. O. 323: 19, 20. Indorsed: "Letter from James Grant Esqr., Govr. of East Florida, to the Board, dated Decr. 1, 1764, containing his Sentiments on their Lordships plan for the future management of Indian Affairs. Recd. Janry 30, 1765. Read. 1 Paper."

Your Lordships Consideration when we become more connected with those Indians.<sup>28</sup>

The Towns, belonging to each Tribe, may be considered as so many Different Republicks which form one State, but each of these Towns has separate Views and Interests; They have frequent Disputes amongst themselves, And are all Jealous of One-another; They often join against a common Enemy, but that is not always the Case, for there are many Instances of some Towns killing their Traders, when other Towns of the same Tribe protect theirs and receive in a friendly manner the Traders who happen to make their Escape from the Hostile Towns.

Therefore, My Lords, to avoid giving Umbrage to any of the Towns, It will certainly be Adviseable to open a Trade to each of them, which is likewise necessary on Account of the Distance there is betwixt the Several Towns of the same Tribe.

If the Officers, who are to be appointed, reside constantly in any One Town, It will undoubtedly give Offence to all the Rest; besides, the Indians will become too well Acquainted and too familiar with their Commissary upon whom they should be accustomed to look with Respect. —I would therefore humbly propose to Your Lordships that the Commissary for the Lower Creeks should reside at the Fort of St. Mark's near Appalachi, he can go from thence as often as he pleases into the different Towns of that Tribe to inspect into the Conduct of the Traders, and to hear Complaints from both sides, which are never believed at a distance, for, without exception, I have never met with either an Indian or one of their Traders who speak truth when their Interest is concerned. St. Marks will likewise answer much better for the residence of the Smith, for if he was to live in one of their Towns they would apply to him for the least Trifle which happened to their Arms. Many of them would go at the same Time, and All of them would be impatient to have their Work first done, And it would be impossible for the most industrious Trades-Man to please them.

The Albama Fort, upon the River Mobile, will answer equally well for the residence of the Officers appointed for the Upper Creeks—And Tombigby Fort,<sup>29</sup> upon a River which runs into the Mobile River, for the Chactaws, tho' that Nation is so very numerous that probably more

<sup>28</sup> The article in the proposed plan reads: "That no Trade be allowed with the Indians in the Southern District, but within the Towns belonging to the Several Tribes included in such District and that in the Northern District, the Trade be fixed at so many Posts and in such Situations as shall be thought necessary." *Op. cit.* It is probable that the criterion for determining upon this difference of policy was the contrast in the economic and political organization of the northern and southern tribes. The northern nations did not possess the same settled habits as characterized the southern Indians. John Stuart, who makes no direct criticism of this provision, observes on another occasion: "The Indian Nations in this department are fewer than in the Northern but they consist of greater numbers of men, live more compactly and contiguous to our Provinces and more in community with each other than the northern tribes and the Provinces in this Department are much weaker and less able to support themselves in the event of an Indian War than those in the other Department." Stuart to Pownall, August 8, 1766, P. R. O., C. O. 5: 67. He thus intimates that the same policy might be impracticable in the two departments. See also articles 18 and 19 of the plan, wherein this general principle is emphasized.

<sup>29</sup> See note 17.

than one Set of Officers, will be thought necessary for them. The Officer for the Cherokees will be conveniently situated at Fort Prince George.—The Catawbas are so few in Number that they will not require a Commissary.

The Chickasaws are such good People, so Tractable, and so much to be depended upon, that a place for their Commissary and Officers may be easily fixed upon by the Superintendant with themselves. I talk of them from Experience and not from Information, As I have had a Party of them under my Command. The other Indians, in the Southern District, I am a Stranger to.

If Your Lordships should approve of opening a Trade to each Town I would humbly propose that it should be restricted to One Trader for each Town. By that means in a little time responsible Men would be Established in the Indian Countries, the Cabals and disputes, which arise in every Town on account of the Traders, would be avoided, For Every Trader has his Indian Friends and Party, who are constantly at work to bring over some of the Indians belonging to the opposite Partys, to trade with their Patron preferable to their own: Each Trader is at work in the same way. They play a thousand Tricks to get the better of One another, And their Disputes have generally been the Cause of our Differences and Quarrels with the Indians, which at any rate, must soon subside, (as the French are removed). But I am convinced If Your Lordships are pleased to restrict the number of Traders in the way I have mentioned, We shall immediately be upon a better Footing with the Indians than we ever have been. But this Restriction, with regard to the Traders does not seem to be necessary where the Trade is carried on at Forts, under the Immediate Inspection of the Commissary.

The Indians know the Prices of Strouds, Blankets, Ammunition and Arms, very well. The Traders have not great profit upon these Articles, their principal Advantage is upon Vermillion mixed up, Knives, Scissors, Ear Rings and other Trifles. A tariff may very easily be fixed with the Indians, at the Rates, they are at present supplied with. And the Traders cannot possibly look upon it as a hardship, As they may see the Tariff when they apply for a Licence, and if they do not like the Terms, they may follow any other Branch of Trade they like better, for there will be people enough found to undertake it. It will fall a little heavy upon the Traders who supply the most distant Towns, but it does so at present, for Indians never make any Allowance for Distance or time, Those of a Tribe must all be supplied at the same Price, They never consider whether the Trader has five hundred Miles or Fifty to bring the Goods: for when they set out from their Towns, they would just as soon go the One Distance as the other, And they think it is quite the same thing to the Trader.

Your Lordships Plan for a Tariff becomes still the more necessary as no Indian Nation will ever be satisfied if the Prices of Goods, in their Country, vary.

The Regulation proposed by Your Lordships in the 18th and 19th Articles of the Plan, would no doubt be of great Utility, but I am afraid it will be difficult to carry it into Execution, 'till the Indians are a little more Civilized. The separate Interests and Jealousies which I have already mentioned, would be a great Obstruction to it, besides there are so many Headmen in every Town contending for power, that it would be very difficult to prevail upon them to put their Affairs into

the hands of One Man Who by that means would claim a Superiority over the Others, And if all the Towns were to make their Elections, the Beloved Men of those Towns would never agree about the choice of One of the Number to attend the Superintendant.

An account of the Quantity of Peltry exported, can be best collected from the Custom house Books in the several Ports of America, for Indian Traders are no where to be depended upon. But it will be difficult at present to Ascertain, with any Degree of Precision, what a Tax upon the Indian Trade may amount to. The Quantity of Goods which the Chactaws may purchase with their Peltry is not known; The Demands from the Nations upon the Mississippi will not appear 'till the French are removed from New Orleans, And the amount of the Creek and Cherokee trade cannot be determined as the French have always had a share of it. The more Northern Nations have never been well Affected to his Majesty's Subjects since the Reduction of Canada, Much of the time of their hunting season has been employed in War, and no Opinion, I apprehend, can be formed from the Quantity of Peltry sold by some of those Nations the Year following that Conquest, because a Part of it was probably a Stock which they had upon their hands when the Canadians had no goods to purchase them with, which was the Case in 1758 and 1759.

The Duties upon this Trade can be best collected at the Ports where the Peltry is exported; if it is done in the Indian Towns, there will be constant Frauds committed, which would likewise be the Case if a Tax was put upon the goods which the Traders carry into the Nation. Peltry will bear a much higher Duty if the number of Traders is restricted in the way I have mentioned to Your Lordships, They will come to be people of Credit, will be able to commission their Goods from England, and have them at first Cost; And they can send their Peltry for the payment of those goods to their English Correspondents, the Peltry will come so much Cheaper to them, that tho the Duty upon Exportation should be high, their profits will be so much more considerable than they are at present, For as things now stand, An American Merchant Commissions the goods from England, The Traders are no Where in good Credit, the Merchant often sustains losses, and in order to make them up upon the whole he sells his Goods at Fifty per Cent profit without Distinction. This is the Case with the better sort of Traders. There is another Class of them who have no credit with Town Merchants, but are supplied from Store Keepers who settle upon the Frontier and purchase their goods at Fifty per Cent above the London Price, And do not sell them for less than fifty pr. Cent profit to the Bankrupt Trader, who often fills the Indians Drunk with bad Rum, and then Cheat them out of their Peltry.

Your Lordships will find, if the Trade Remains in many hands, that it will be impossible to prevent those frauds, The Security required will not answer the End, Those Traders are never at a loss to find a person who is ready to sign a Bond for them and so make Oath that he is worth double the sum he becomes bound for, tho' he has not a Shilling, for 'tis not to be conceived what a Sett of abandoned Wretches, live at present in Those Woods, who wander from One Province to Another and occasion disturbances everywhere.

Your Lordships have fixed the two Districts by naming the Tribes which belong to each, I should apprehend it would be of great Utility,

*Letter of Kamehameha II. to Alexander I., 1820* 831

if you pleased to extend that Plan still farther and name the Towns of those Tribes to which the Several Governors may grant Licences, so that no Two Governors may have a Power to send Traders to the same Place. That has often Occasioned great Confusion.

I send Your Lordships a List of the Towns of the lower Creeks with the Names of their Head Men, and the numbers of their Gun Men and other Inhabitants, As those are the Towns with which this Province is most connected, but in the general Partition 'tis probable they will fall under the Governments of Georgia and the two Floridas.

'Tis only in Obedience to Your Lordships Commands that I have taken the liberty to offer my Sentiments upon a Subject which has already been under your Consideration.

I have the honor to be

My Lords—

Your Lops most Obedt. and most hbl Servant.

JAMES GRANT.

*2. Letter of Kamehameha II. to Alexander I., 1820.*

FOR the following curious document we are indebted to Professor Frank A. Golder, who found it in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Petrograd, and who has contributed most of the information which we are able to give respecting it. It is found in a carton entitled "Dobell", and numbered 3601.

The reader who wishes to know more of the status of relations between the Hawaiians and the Russians at the date of the letter should consult the paper by Professor W. D. Alexander, "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai, 1814-1816", in *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, no. 6. This is based on an article by Rev. Samuel Whitney in the *Hawaiian Spectator*, I. 49-51 (1839; the writer had got his information in Kauai in 1820), and from Tikhmeniev's *Istoricheskoe Obozrenie*, etc. (Historical Survey of the Formation and History of the Russian American Company) and Kotzebue. It does not appear that either the company or Baranov, its governor at Sitka, planned an occupation of Kauai, though apparently Baranov's agent, the German doctor Scheffer, so planned, building in 1815 the fort of which some remains are still visible. When King Tomaree, or Kaumualii, at Scheffer's instigation, asked to be taken under Russian protection, the emperor declined, and the same response was given in 1818 to a memorial in which Scheffer advocated the making of a Russian establishment in the islands.

When the letter was written, Kamehameha I., the great king who had made himself overlord of all the Hawaiian Islands, had been dead eight months. It was two months before the first American missionaries arrived, bringing with them from the United States George P. Kaumualii, the son of Tomaree.

Jean Rives, by whose hand the letter was written, was a low French sailor from Bordeaux, one of the dissipated young king's boon companions, half cook, half secretary.

Peter Dobell, by whose hand the letter was sent, was a native of Ireland. He served for a time in the Irish militia, came to America, is found serving as a private in 1794 in the Bucks County (Penn.) troop of horse under Captain Samuel Gibbs,<sup>1</sup> and with it took part in the expedition against the Whiskey Insurrection. According to his own account, he was made deputy quartermaster-general, with a rank equivalent to colonel of infantry in Russia, resigned, became a member of the Philadelphia corps of gentlemen infantry called "McPherson's Blues", went with them to Pittsburgh, and remained there till 1796. After this service he went abroad. On his return he sailed as supercargo to China. There he acquired a considerable fortune. From Krusenstern and others he heard that there was a scarcity of food in Kamchatka, and he therefore took two ship-loads thither in 1812 for commercial purposes. Thence he went overland to St. Petersburg in order to lay certain propositions before the emperor having to do with the trade of the North Pacific. He got himself appointed consul general to the Philippines, but the Spanish government would not recognize him. At the date of the letter he was on the way to Manila. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1829.

Sa Majete Imperial L'Empereur de Toutes Les Russies

*Sire*

Ayant toujours entendu qu' Votre Majeste Imperiale Est un Souverain tres bon et fort magnanime je suis porté de croire qu'Elle ne permettra jamais ses sujets de faire du mal à personne impunement.

J'Ecris Cette Lettre par La voie de Votre Consul General Monsieur Dobell actuellement ici pour informer Votre Majeste Imperial qu' La Compagnie Americaine Russes se comportée tres inimicale aupres de moi Car Elle á envoyée des Navires et des hommes pour prender une de mes Iles Nommé Wahoo.<sup>2</sup> O'uter de cela Elle pretends d'avoir achete L'Ile de Atohwy<sup>3</sup> du Roi Tomaree<sup>4</sup> et Elle á fait de reclamations pour avoir Cette Ile et paiement aussi pour un des Navires et des effets échouée par les Russes Sur la Cote. Comme le Roi Tomaree est Tributaire de nous il n'avait aucune droit de vender sette Ile. la Reclamation pour des objet vendu et pour un Navires que les Russes eux même ont échouee Sur no Cotes est également injuste. Je suis tres<sup>5</sup> alors qu' Votre Majeste ecouterá mes plaintes et qu' Elle ne permettra pas encore ses sujets de venir en Ennemie chez une Nation qu' desire tou pour La paix et

<sup>1</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, sixth series, V. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Oahu.

<sup>3</sup> Atauí, or Kauai.

<sup>4</sup> Or Tamoree; more commonly Kaumualii, sub-king of Kauai.

<sup>5</sup> Désireux [?] omitted.



Lamitié avec Votre Majeste Imperiale et tout Le Monde. Comptant tres fort Sur la generosité et la grandeur de Votre Ame J' demande qu' nous soyons amis et qu' Votre Majeste Imperiale me donnera Votre aide et Votre protection affermer Mon pouvoir et Le trone Laissée a moi seul par mon Pére Tammahamaha<sup>6</sup> mort depuis L' 8 mai L'Annee 1819.

N' sachant pas Nous même La Langue Francaise jei Commande mon Secretaire un françois Mr. Rives d'Ecrire Cette Lettre daquelle j'prie Votre Majeste Imperiale davoir La bonte de recevoir avec la même confiance comme si elle fut tout ecrit de ma proper main.

Pour Montrer lattachement qu' j'ai pour Votre nom, est Pour Votre Gloire, j'ai vians de donner à votre Consul General un Canoo fatePar Les natives de mes Iles dont je Prie Votre Majeste Imperiale de vouloir bian accepter Comme une marque du Grand respect et Estime de Votre tres humble

Serviteur etc

TAMAHAMAHAMA LE 2ND

Roi des Iles de Sandwich

Ministre D'Etat TRYMOKO

Secretaire du Roi des Iles de Sandwich

BARYESOKO RIVES

CAYROOHO<sup>7</sup>

Le 25 De janvear

L annee 1820

### 3. *Salt Lake City in 1847.*

IN going over old fur-trading documents at Hudson's Bay House in London, recently, especially at the period of the Treaty of 1846, a copy of a letter from the Mormons, then newly settled at Salt Lake City, was found. Their wish was to establish trade relations with the company at Fort Vancouver, under arrangement that the goods should be sent overland with the regular trading goods to Fort Hall or to Great Salt Lake, as the officials might determine. The document gives a clear description of the settlement, at that time, even to the arrangement of the buildings.

The letter was written a year and a half after the boundary settlement had been made. The Hudson's Bay Company was holding its forts, under agreement, until its possessory rights should be bought by the United States, or otherwise legally disposed of. James Douglas was in charge at Fort Vancouver, the actual governing head, his colleagues on the Board of Management being frequently at other posts.

No arrangement such as the Mormons wished seems to have been made. As Utah was American, and had never been part of the area held under joint-occupancy, the American law forbade such arrangements as to traffic. Additional goods may have been sent to

<sup>6</sup> Or Kamehameha.

<sup>7</sup> Kailua, the royal residence, on the west coast of Hawaii.

Fort Hall, and sold from there, as part of the company's sales, but the sales reports do not indicate any extensive business with the Mormons.

Great Salt Lake was known to both British and American fur traders. In the years of early struggle for the beaver of the Snake River country, in the 1820's, Peter Skeen Ogden is known to have visited it, and other British trapping parties came near it, in their frequent tours down the Snake River to its source, thence around the Salt Lake region, and back over the mountains southwest to the Bonaventura Valley and the California coast. It was a source of resentment to the Americans that the British came so far inland.

The letter explains itself. The spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the copy have been retained. The original of the letter was not found.

KATHARINE B. JUDSON.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Great Basin,  
North America, Dec. 7, 1847.

To the Board of Management of the Hudson's Bay Company  
*Gentlemen:*

At the request of your agent Captain Grant of Fort Hall, and in accordance with our feelings and views, we take the liberty of writing you this brief letter.

We as a people, commonly called Mormons, began to settle in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, the latter part of last July and have laid out a city in Latitude 40° 45' 50", a plot of which we have furnished Captain Grant.

Our buildings at present for reasons of advantage, are in the quadrangular form common in Western posts, the outside lines 190 rods long by 40 rods wide, with three cross walls at convenient distances; this fort, as we call it, contains not far from 600 houses, built of logs and sun dried bricks, and accommodates comfortably a population of about 3000; we have built this fort since the 2nd of August, most of it since the 1st of October, laboring at the same time with many disadvantages. Our location has so far proved itself delightful as to climate, rich in soil, with timber sufficient and verge and scope of land ample for the exertion of our industry to its utmost stretch.

We have plowed and sowed with winter wheat about 2000 acres and purpose putting in 3000 or more acres in spring crops in the season thereof, the seed for which, together with all the property we have on hand we have brought in wagons from 12 to 15,000 miles.

The plot of our city will be forwarded you by the Captain Grant and will explain itself; at the same time, while building it up we expect to form settlements at different points in the valley, and in neighboring valleys, according to the accommodation of our members, which as near as we can safely calculate will increase from 3000 this winter to 10,000 the coming winter, and in proportion the season after next, if not longer.

Your judgment and experience will readily suggest to you that there will be many articles of trade we shall need and be obliged to buy from some quarter before we can manufacture the same at home, and will be

also obvious to you that from our inland position, it will be difficult to bring goods to us and for the same cause our produce will avail us but little in exchange for your commodities any farther than your establishments in our vicinity might require and the supply of western emigration, still there is and will be more or less money in our midst and probably no inconsiderable share of peltries; we therefore at the request of Captain Grant respectfully solicit your Honorable Board to furnish us as soon as convenient a list of articles of use and necessity in our position, with the prices annexed calculated for this city or Fort Hall according to which place you choose to land them.

To guide you in making out your list for our trade, we take the liberty of specifying a few articles, viz., Sugar, coffee, bleached and unbleached domestics or cotton cloths, cotton drillings, calicos, woolen goods, mole-skins, blankets, iron, steel, powder, hollow ware, leather, and such other useful articles as may occur to you that will warrant so lengthly a land carriage.

We would remark that in case you saw fit to send your goods direct to your place, we feel to write to you that we will use influence to have the channel of trade in your favor, to the utmost extent that your prices will warrant when compared with what can be done in other directions.

We have already 1 grist mill in operation and 4 saw mills in rapid progress to completion.

We close by soliciting an answer at as early a date as possible; and subscribe ourselves respectively your friends and well-wishers and desirous of the peace of all men.

JOHN SMITH, President  
CHARLES A. RICH }  
and } Councillors  
JOHN YOUNG }

Done in behalf of the Presidency and High Council  
of the Great Salt Lake City,  
this 7th day of December, A.D. 1847.

ALBERT CARRINGTON, Clerk

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Essays in Legal History read before the International Congress of Historical Studies held in London, in 1913.* Edited by PAUL VINOGRADOFF, F.B.A., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Oxford. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1913. Pp. viii, 396.)

THIS volume contains a score of essays on topics of Roman, English, Germanic, Slavonic, canon, and comparative law. They are introduced by a presidential address in which Professor Vinogradoff discusses the continuity of cultural tradition and the value of comparative study in universal jurisprudence, and the causes (among which he considers particularly important the "social type") which produce variations in legal principles. It is especially interesting to note his critical attitude toward legal theory, which is frankly expressed.

Roman law is represented by four contributions. Professor Wenger sets forth in stimulating fashion the inadequacy of our present knowledge when tested by the questions suggested by new social viewpoints in the light of recently discovered Byzantine and Egyptian papyri. These have opened up a world of inquiries relative to social status, the relation of law and economic conditions and of debtor and creditor, the land, associational forms, etc. Private, administrative, and procedural law are all in need of revision. Professor Lenel offers an exceedingly acute and unorthodox discussion of the history and meaning of *heredis institutio*. His primary theses are these: that there was no instituted heir until shortly before Plautus; that the comitial testament was a pure legatary will; that under the oldest testamentary system liability for the decedent's obligations rested on legatees and usucapients *pro herede* to the extent of the things they respectively acquired (*i. e.*, the liability rested, as in early Grecian and Germanic law, on the heritage); that, when the *familiae emptor* was replaced by the *heres scriptus*, the unlimited personal liability of the *heres suus* in intestate succession was transferred to wills and imposed upon an artificial instituted heir, partly in order to preserve the advantages of the *familiae emptor* as an executor and partly in order to spare creditors the inconveniences of limited real liability; the effectiveness of the will depending thenceforth on the *heredis institutio*, as formerly on the *familiae mancipatio*. This theory, which makes the earliest stage of the Roman law one of specific legacies, as in Grecian and Germanic law, leaves the *heredis institutio* as a feat of developed juristic technic,

and not an anomalous product of primitive customary law. Professor Riccobono's essay, "Dalla 'Communio' del Diritto Quiritario alla Comproprietà Moderna", is much the longest of the volume. It is an elaborate examination of the classical and Justinian texts. The author finds that the early and classic form of joint property rested upon the complete independence of the individual co-owners, the *dominium ex jure Quiritum* existing unfettered in each; there was no undivided ownership by a group, whether with or without juristic personality. This system, however, was profoundly altered in the Digest, the Quiritary principles being tempered by ideas of co-operation in the common interest, each co-owner acquiring the power to constrain all or to restrain his fellow "without regard to the interests" of any individual co-owner—i. e., by an appeal to law. The construction of the essay is permeated with foreseen conclusions and some generalizations might be debated, but it unquestionably is of great and original value.

Of the three essays dealing with Germanic law the most widely interesting will be Professor Caillemier's on "Les Idées Coutumières et la Renaissance du Droit Romain dans le Sud-Est de la France". He rejects Ficker's theory that the Burgundian law survived in this region, and shows that there existed here, on the contrary, a vigorous customary law which made slow and difficult the spread of Roman ideas, notwithstanding that the earliest renascence in France of the classic law occurred precisely in this region. He discusses the divergencies of the native from the Roman system in the conceptions of real rights in immovables, of even-handed contracts (*à titre onéreux*), of real and personal suretyship, of rights of co-alienation (*laüdatio*); and, especially, in the history (fully outlined) of dowry and dower. Professor Schreuer discusses very briefly the gods and the dead as bearers of rights in Germanic law, and Professor Taranger deals exhaustively with the meaning in old Norwegian law of "øðal" (inherited or family, as distinguished from purchased, lands) and "skeyting" ("transfer of øðal-right in øðal-land" according to the author, "transfer of property in land" according to the current views which he combats).

Public law is represented by a paper of the late Professor Esmein on the influence in France of the maxim "princeps legibus solutus est", which was literally understood and applied, whereas in Roman law it had the limited technical meaning of discretionary self-exemption from the private and police law. Dr. A. Lappo-Danilevski describes the change in the conception of the state in Russia, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from that of a predominantly theocratic to a predominantly secular institution. It is curious that a leading part in the dissemination of foreign literature was played by university courses in theology dealing *de iure et iustitia*.

Students of constitutional history will be interested in Professor Hübner's account of the constitution drafted in the Frankfort Parlia-

ment by the Seventeen Selectmen. It is based on minutes of the meetings, hitherto unknown, left by Droysen. There are also two studies of the principle of majority rule: one by Dr. Konopczyński dealing with the Polish *liberum veto*, the antithesis of that principle, and one by Professor Gierke. The contrasts between these essays is remarkable. Dr. Gierke's history is full of references and implications of borrowing and interaction. Dr. Konopczyński declares that the principle "*ne fut octroyé nulle part, ni emprunté à des étrangers*", etc. It is worth reflecting on when reading the two essays.

Reference must be made to the papers on English law: Dr. Odgers's history of the Inns of Court (but with no contribution to the theory or history of associations); Professor Goudy's discussion of the maxims *actio personalis moritur cum persona* (which never meant what it says and which he finds entered the law owing to Bracton's misunderstanding of the Roman law) and *cujus est solum ejus est usque ad coelum*; Dr. Holdsworth's views of Coke's influence; and Dr. Hazeltine's re-statement of the researches of himself and other scholars in the early enforcement of legal remedies in the common-law courts. There is no space to consider them in detail.

F. S. PHILBRICK.

*Deliverance: the Freeing of the Spirit in the Ancient World.* By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. vii, 294.)

MR. TAYLOR's authoritative and penetrating interpretations of the spiritual content of history promote historical studies, enrich philosophical insight, and add to the pleasure of those who accept erudition only in attractive literary form. To consider them only as contributions to historical knowledge is a too limited and one-sided procedure, and in the case of his most recent work the limitation is an embarrassment. "This little book which is not intended to be learned" (p. 77) adds not to the world's erudition but to the world's wisdom. The content of it is historical but the end in view is meditation on the spiritual problem of human life. For the book springs from such reflections as visit a man when he is alone with himself and is asking by what kind of endeavor he may find "his working satisfaction", "his freedom to fulfil his nature, his release from fear, his actual adjustment with life and the eternal ways". In particular such reflection seeks release from the anxiety of the thought of death. How have great souls won their serenity and composure of spirit, their triumph over the world? It is in this quest that Mr. Taylor surveys ancient philosophies and religions, not to give any such ample account of them as belongs to a history of thought, but to exhibit in Confucius, Lao Tzu, Zarathushtra, Hebrew prophets, Greek thought, Jesus, Paul, Augustine, the essential conception which gave them "singleness of spiritual foundations" bringing into accord intellectual conceptions and the heart's devotion.



It seems to the reviewer that this selective interest has maintained itself most consistently in the delightful chapters on Greek poetry and Greek philosophy, while elsewhere, as in the chapter on the Prophets of Israel, the restricted point of view has been lost in the pleasure of presenting a complete sketch of Hebrew religious history, possibly because that was a fresh field for the writer to master and the full survey of a new estate was an interest by itself.

Mr. Taylor's competency to acquire and survey is not to be questioned, but there is one instance where looking for the central *Wesen* of a teaching in the spirit of his main quest he is led astray from the path of history by his meditative interest. Being himself of Johannine kinship, Mr. Taylor expounds Jesus by the control of the Fourth Gospel, showing an insecurity of judgment in the use of the Synoptic records and feeling entitled to expound the inner consciousness of Jesus by the Johannine interpretation. It is a misfortune thus to have attention rest on the personal relation of Jesus to God and to lose the intense concentration of life on the kingdom of God which was the theme of the Jesus of history. Criticism surely establishes that the historical Jesus offered singleness of spiritual foundations to men not by elucidating before the world the mystery of his personality but by challenging men to the practical idealism of living by the law of the heaven which was to come to earth. This view of criticism would have made Mr. Taylor's chapter on Jesus more effective for his main purpose. Being in this mood of partial regret one is tempted to regret also that Mr. Taylor did not use for his purpose the pertinent and impressive materials contained in Cumont's *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*.

Apart from this modest dissent, one finishes the book with a misgiving. Release from fear, adjustment to inevitable conditions of a world which has a death-angel, is an overworked motive. The implication is that all the great interpretations of life spring from the still sad music of the *vita contemplativa* and are in fact a spiritual epicureanism, a release from heartache. And the book ends after all with the melancholy of uncertainty. Were there then no urgencies of joyous discovery building great systems of faith, no spontaneous flights of unreflecting instincts not "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought", was there so little of the sheer and rapturous impulse to know, to see the fullness of being and to grasp it in some firm unity for the gratification of theoretic reason unconscious of the pragmatist need of a result on which the heart could appease its devotion? There have been many attempts to reduce these complex creations of history to one motive origin, intellectual, emotional, economic, or what not, and the attempts are not commendable. If we are asked to think that fear was the primal source of these great complete visionings of experience, we seem to be invited to forget the rich and varied spontaneities that make men creative. Doubtless Mr. Taylor would answer that he has

not been offering an explanation of these productions but a valuation of them in relation to a need which recurs hauntingly to the hours of reflection. Even so, the restricted appreciation may effect a certain distortion. The great faiths afforded not one but many liberations and "adjustments".

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Roman Ideas of Deity in the Last Century before the Christian Era.*

Lectures delivered in Oxford for the Common University Fund by W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., Hon. LL.D., Hon. D.Litt. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1914. Pp. vii, 167.)

It is a fundamental and difficult theme which the author handles in the six lectures which make up this book. Essential as it is for the student of any religion to apprehend as clearly as possible the notions of deity which were current at any given period, these notions are exactly the ones which are hardest to grasp because the causes which determine them are most elusive. In his opening lecture Fowler points out that the natural difficulties are increased in the case of Roman religion because it was peculiarly hard for the Roman himself to conceive of divinity as distinct from supernaturalism; all his interest was fixed on the cult rather than on the *numen* toward which the cult was directed; he regarded the ritual as of prime importance because thereby he maintained right relations with the controlling powers, but he had no inclination to speculate about these indistinct powers. The result was that even in the last century before our era the Romans were able to realize deity but faintly.

Fowler then goes on to show that there were four ways by which a slight realization might be obtained. The first of these was through family worship. Vesta and the Di Penates represented in their way concepts of beneficent powers which gradually gained something like the character of divinities. The *genius*, who ultimately in Roman thought attained immortality, stood for the life-giving principle which secured permanence to the family and gens, and then for a divine protecting power, almost personal, which cared not only for men but for social groups and places. Finally in the cult of the dead we see reflected the common feeling that life is continuous.

The second means by which divinity was realized was through the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus. There can be no question that most of the gods of the state were moribund or quite dead in Cicero's day. This was not true however of the divinity who from the Capitol presided over the state. Partly perhaps from an inherited strain of monotheism—if that view be right which sees a monotheistic tendency among uncultured races—partly owing to the syncretistic tendency of the time, Jupiter was regarded as one with that world-spirit of the philosophers which was now familiar to the Romans; he was thought

to be the divinity which had created the empire and so was more or less closely identified with the Stoic creative intelligence. A third way might have been furnished by the cosmic divinities like the Sun, or by Fortuna, but neither succeeded in attaining a sure position as a deity in the period under discussion. The fourth means was offered by the idea of a man-god and the deification of the Caesars. Fowler holds that the cult of the *divi*, of the *genius Caesaris*, and of the *dea Roma* was nothing more than the worship of the controlling force of the empire, which indeed was no deity at all. In his final chapter he shows how the idea of deity was degraded in the Augustan Age.

From one point of view all this is a dreary tale of degeneracy and lack of faith. But the learning of the author makes his book an illuminating study. Even when the reader cannot agree in matters of detail, he will gladly acknowledge his obligations to the whole work.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

*Papers of the American Society of Church History.* Edited by WILLIAM WALTER ROCKWELL. Second series, volume IV. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1914. Pp. xx, 215.)

THIS volume is made up of papers read at the annual meetings of 1912 and 1913. It fittingly opens with two addresses on the life and work of Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson (d. Aug. 2, 1912), to whom the reorganized society owes its existence, and with his unfinished paper on *Servatus Lupus*, which he had meant to use as a presidential address. These are followed by the next year's presidential address of Professor Joseph Cullen Ayer, jr., a solid study "On the Medieval National Church". Dr. Ayer, taking a position midway between Maitland and Phillimore, sustains the former in his denial that papal decrees needed any "reception" to validate them in England and admits that there was no such legal entity in England as a national church; but he holds that, not only in England but in other European lands, there was in the Church a sense of nationality and that social forces, such as the share of the local church in the general fortunes of the nation, its place in the constitutional system, or its treatment by the Roman See, tended to develop in it a national spirit and to give it in fact a unity which it did not possess in law. He vigorously urges the need of a comparative method of study, which shall no longer treat England as if apart from the rest of Latin Christendom.

The paper of Mr. C. H. Lyttle on "The Stigmata of St. Francis, considered in the Light of possible Joachimite Influence upon Thomas of Celano", is scarcely more than a learned foot-note. That of Professor David S. Schaff upon "John Huss's Treatise on the Church" describes and expounds this central writing of the Bohemian reformer, admitting its dependence on Wyclif, but claiming for it a high practical importance. The Rev. Dr. Edward Waite Miller, about to publish an English

translation of the "Farrago" and the letters of Wessel Gansvoort (the John Wessel of our older books), contributes a sketch of the relation of that reformer to the Reformation.

More startling to conservative readers will be the fine study on Luther and Toleration by Professor Faulkner, of Drew Seminary. With a fairness and a frankness still rare in the handling of this question, and with a knowledge both of the literature and the sources, he demonstrates the great gulf between the Luther of 1523 and the Luther of 1536. Yet is it not to exaggerate even that gulf to call the utterances of his *Von weltlicher Obrigkeit* "Luther's views on religious toleration"? When Luther wrote those utterances he was thinking only of the tolerance due *to* Lutherans; and that to Luther was always quite another matter from the tolerance due *from* Lutherans. And is it quite exact to say that even in 1536 Luther believed in the forcible suppression of heresy *as such*, when, though he believed in suppressing heresy, and with death, he would still not call it heresy? If this is quibbling, it is Luther's quibbling. It was not "some years later" than 1528, as Dr. Faulkner says, that Luther first consented to the death penalty. He was commending it to Menius early in 1530, and there is reason to date his change of view from the action of the Diet in 1529. As for the paper of Melanchthon to which he added his *placet*, that belongs, not to 1530, but to late October of 1531. But these are matters just being cleared up by research.

Professor Washburn, of the Cambridge Theological School, in a paper on the College of Cardinals and the Veto comes to the defense of that interference of the great Catholic powers with the freedom of papal elections. Nor will he believe that the days of the Exclusion are necessarily at an end. The "Sketch of the Religious History of the Negroes in the South", contributed by Professor Reed of the Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, is illuminating in many ways and is notable for its fairness of tone. It increases the impatience of the reader for that broader study of Christianity and Slavery on which Dr. Jernegan has been so long at work.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

*The Hussite Wars.* By Count Lützwow, Hon. D.Litt. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1914. Pp. xiv, 384.)

THIS work is a companion volume to the same author's *The Life and Times of Master John Hus* (1909) which devoted only a chapter to the Hussite Wars. Of the eight chapters which make up the work, the first is devoted to the causes and the beginnings of the wars; the next six to the crusades and religious disputes within and without Bohemia; and the last to the conclusion of peace between the Bohemians on the one side and the Church and Sigismund on the other. The author

develops the thesis, now universally accepted, that "these wars were the result of three causes, the antagonism of the Bohemians to the Church of Rome, the revival of the Slavic national feeling, and the rise of the democratic spirit".

Count Lützow is a liberal Bohemian noble and patriot. The subject at hand is a veritable jungle of political, racial, and religious prejudices covering a morass of complicated and often unintelligible detail owing to the paucity of reliable information handed down to us by the chroniclers and their contemporaries. On the whole, he has kept his balance when judging between Roman Catholic and Hussite, between German and Bohemian, between conservatives and radicals in politics.

The author has given us a fresh account of John Žižka, the blind leader of the Hussites, whom he fittingly compares to Oliver Cromwell. Žižka is rescued from the charges of barbarity heaped on him by German Catholics, but the author does not hesitate to point out his lapses from grace to ardent Bohemian patriots who see in him a spotless idol. Illuminating also are the passages which describe that leader's contribution to military science, although the description of fighting as carried on by the Hussite rank and file is not always clear.

The latest researches of Neubauer (see *Český časopis Historický*, 1910-), which the author has followed, have reconstructed the life of Prokop the Great, the Taborite priest, on whom fell the task of continuing Žižka's work after the latter's death in 1424. The result is that Prokop the Great is portrayed somewhat less ideally, but also with a due appreciation of the difficulty of his position caused by the decline in the morale of the Hussites and those who flocked to their standards in hope of generous booty.

The author frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to the leading documentary, general, and monographic works on the subject: to Höfler, Palacký, Pez, Goll, Tomek, Bezold, Juritsch, Neubauer, Toman, Köhler, and others. Hofman does not appear among those cited.

American readers would doubtless have been interested in chapters on social and economic conditions among the Taborites, who were the democrats of the Hussite movement. A concluding chapter on the political, economic, and social results of the Hussite Wars on Bohemia and the Bohemian nation would also have been welcome.

Few errors of fact may be detected. The repetition of the adverb "now" (as on page 60) burdens the style, which, considering that it is written by a scholar in a language not his own, is pardonable. Errors like the following have crept in in spite of the proof-reading: Válečnic-toi for Valečnictvo (p. 23, note), Maintz for Mainz (p. 260), Palecký for Palacký (p. 284, note).

The present work is the best account of the Hussite Wars which has thus far appeared in the English language. Such adverse criticism as it merits is not due to any serious faults of scholarship, but rather to

the form and the manner of its presentation before an English-reading public.

R. J. KERNER.

*A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc. of the East India Company, 1650-1654.* By ETHEL BRUCE SAINSBURY, with an Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913. Pp. xxxii, 404.)

THE numerous documents in this fourth volume are chiefly from the *Court Book* of the company, though many short entries are drawn from state papers of various sorts at the Public Record Office. The usual high standard of production and apparatus is maintained. American interests are occasionally noted, as, for example, the successful colonization of Barbadoes. There is also frequent mention of the need of naval convoy in view of the danger from Channel pirates who were attacking the East India and Barbadoes fleets. The reason for this pooling of interests lies probably in the financial investments of members of the company in such American adventures. This matter of piracy, however, is of larger importance and we could well draw a picture of the dangerous conditions existing even in home waters. But greater matters are also treated.

First is the relation of the affairs of the company to English foreign policy. These affairs are at first affected by the royalist sympathies of the Continental maritime nations. The success of the Commonwealth navy and the use of privateers offered some protection to the company's shipping. But the Dutch War was a more complicated undertaking. The body of documents exposing the interests of the company in this matter is far too large to permit any detailed references, but they form a most valuable addition to the sources for this subject. Merely as an illustration is the petition of November 14, 1650, by the company for redress from the Dutch (p. 73). The course of the war and the settlement of outstanding questions in connection with peace add another series of frequent papers. In less important fashion is the final recognition by Portugal of English trading claims in the East. And in other, if often contradictory, ways the fuller entry of the company into a national policy is of importance. These and various affairs suggest the greater influence of "the City" on Westminster.

Secondly, comes the tangled matter of financial policy. It is impossible even to trace here the complicated questions connected with the raising of subscriptions. But the principles of the struggle regarding joint-stock companies, which played such an important part in the economic history of the seventeenth century, appear here in considerable detail. Petition and counter-petition, document after document, supply in concrete fashion the very stuff of business policy. In like if less frequent ways the problem of "private trade by the servants of the company" receives special treatment. As a matter of economic prin-



ciple the questions are similar; but administrative expediency had influenced the company. And in this period a marked relaxation of stringent prohibition of private trade may have had some relation to the problems of the company. In general the concluding documents of this volume point directly to the coming struggle over the granting of the new charter to the company by Cromwell.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

*Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State to Charles II.*

By VIOLET BARBOUR, Instructor in History, Vassar College.

[Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1913.]

(Washington: American Historical Association; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1914. Pp. xii, 303.)

WITH the appearance of Miss Barbour's life of Arlington another link is added to the rapidly lengthening chain of Restoration biography which began so many years ago with Lister's classic *Life of Clarendon*, and has recently been so remarkably increased. There are, indeed, not many principal personages of that extraordinary period now without some sort of modern biography. Charles II., his wife, most of his mistresses, all of his chief ministers save two, Temple, L'Estrange, Ormonde, Argyll, Pepys, Mackenzie—the list is as long as it is miscellaneous. And if, in these contributions to Restoration history, two characteristics are noticeable above all others they are, first, that scarcely any other period in English affairs has proved such an attractive and fertile field for the production of biographical monographs; and, second, that it seems to have a peculiar fascination for that sex which played so great a part in its development.

To this collection Miss Barbour's volume is a welcome and valuable addition. If it cannot pretend to the bulk and exhaustiveness of Lady Burghclere's *Ormonde* it certainly surpasses that author's *Buckingham* both in method and content; and though it lacks the scope and interest of Mr. Christie's *Shaftesbury* in revolutionizing our ideas of its subject and period, it unquestionably adds much to our knowledge and something to our conception of one of the most elusive figures in Restoration politics.

That it does not add more is less the fault of the author than of her subject. Of all the leading personages in the reign of Charles II., it seems to be evident from these pages that Arlington will remain in history, as he was in life, one of the most difficult to evaluate properly in his relation to affairs and his permanent influence upon them. This is, no doubt, largely true because he was first of all a diplomat rather than a statesman, and it is never easy to adjudge the proper proportion of personal influence wielded by an intermediary. But, growing out of his profession, perhaps, there were certain qualities emphasized in Arlington's nature which make Miss Barbour's task doubly difficult. Despite her long and patient investigation, despite the many facts, both new and old, here brought together by her industry, despite her clear and syste-

matic presentation couched in a style fortunately far removed from so-called "thesis English", Arlington remains to us as to most of his contemporaries, a peculiarly unattractive, enigmatic factor in public affairs. As he began so he seems to have remained to the end, patient, unobtrusive, adroit, self-seeking, contributing but little of real light and leading to those great issues through which he moved so surely and inconspicuously toward wealth and power. A model courtier, a shrewd politician, a useful minister to a master like Charles II., he lacks even the principle of Danby, the picturesque quality of Buckingham, still more the fire of Shaftesbury. Half in, half out of either side, treading dangerous paths with marvellous security, he remains the peculiar product of a period in which, save for an ultimately futile foreign policy, his permanent influence for good was negligible.

Such is the final impression one receives of that minister-courtier-diplomat, who, save for the most sincere of his colleagues, Clifford, has hitherto received less attention than any member of the ill-fated Cabal. The general opinion of Arlington will probably be little changed by Miss Barbour's book. Its value lies in the details she has added to the knowledge of the tortuous politics of the period. Nowhere has Arlington's relation to the Triple Alliance been so clearly revealed, and though his connection with the true and false treaties of Dover has long been fairly well known, his change from "confident expectation of peace to passionate desire for it" and the "ill use" of the period succeeding the second Dutch War has never been so clearly recognized. Unfortunately it has, apparently, not been found possible to invade his refuge in collective ministerial responsibility for the acts preceding that struggle, and but little if any new light is thrown on the consequent impeachment and acquittal, where hung not merely the fate of Arlington and his colleagues, but the turning-point of Restoration politics. And if (not to exceed the limits set to the many questions and reflections which this volume inspires) it had been possible to discover the tracks which Arlington has evidently been only too successful in covering up, we should be able to clear up many problems in a perplexing period. Finally, apart from minor matters, it seems remarkable, in such a careful and exhaustive piece of work, that the author has not availed herself to a larger extent of some of the recent biographies and monographs which might have helped to illuminate the general field of Restoration politics and, by the reflected light, make Arlington's course at critical periods somewhat less obscure.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*Frederick the Great and Kaiser Joseph: an Episode of War and Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century.* By HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (London: Duckworth and Company. 1915. Pp. xvi, 273.)

CLAUSEWITZ used to maintain that, in war, more could be learned from a detailed study of a few operations than from a broad general account.

Believing that in diplomacy the same is true, Mr. Temperley has written an able essay on the manoeuvres, diplomatic and military, which accompanied the question of the Bavarian Succession in the years 1776-1779. The French, Prussian, Austrian, and Russian archival material on this episode has been explored by historians, but the English has been hitherto neglected. The peculiar value of Mr. Temperley's account lies in the thorough use which he has made of the English sources, particularly of the despatches of that distinguished English trio, Sir Robert Keith in Vienna, Hugh Elliot in Berlin, and James Harris in St. Petersburg. All three, however, shared a certain hatred of Prussia which went back to the rupture of the Anglo-Prussian alliance during the Seven Years' War and which was stirred again by Frederick's undisguised friendliness to the revolting American colonies. Mr. Temperley tries to be on his guard against their bias and devotes an incisive appendix to a critical estimate of the value of his English authorities. But in spite of the grain of salt with which he reads their lively despatches, he still seems to the reviewer to do Frederick II. less than justice at a number of points. He seems to overstate the decay in the Prussian army and the decrepitude in its leader, and to understate Frederick's desire to avoid serious war in the Empire. Frederick II. had had enough of fighting in the first twenty-three years of his reign. He had secured what he wanted. In the remaining twenty-three years, therefore, after the Seven Years' War, he sought to preserve the *status quo* and avoid an upheaval which might bring him losses. None better than he knew the truth of the proverb, *Chi sta bene non muove*. To prevent Joseph II. from consummating the Partition of Bavaria according to the secret treaty of January 3, 1778, and thereby too greatly increasing the Hapsburg power, it was, indeed, necessary for the Prussian king to make an energetic military demonstration, but it was not necessary for him to attempt a great battle or risk a winter campaign.

By the quality of his style, the mastery of his material, and the simplicity of his presentation Mr. Temperley succeeds admirably in making the Bavarian Succession episode serve as a canvas on which to paint "the typical elements of eighteenth century diplomacy: the intense personal influence of rulers, naked aggression veiled by genealogical pedantry, the struggle for the 'balance of power', the assertion of *raison d'état* as a plea for all crimes, the rapier play of contending forces, the ruthless crushing of small or neutral Powers by the military aggression of larger ones" (p. vii). Though he had virtually finished the main part of his volume three years before the present war began, Mr. Temperley takes occasion to point out (p. 150) the interesting fact that the German general staff has never made any special study of this last campaign of Frederick's, though it is perhaps the one which has most bearing on modern conditions: both the armies stood securely entrenched against each other for months. He also rightly emphasizes the decisive influence of Russia in settling German affairs at the Peace of Teschen.

In bibliographical notes he indicates the nature and value of most of the numerous foreign monographic studies. In appendixes he prints some amusing and unflattering descriptions of Frederick and his army by Harris, Elliot, and General Burgoyne; an English translation of a Czechish peasant's pious paean on Joseph II.; and an interesting conversation of 1782 in which Joseph II. confided to Sir Robert Keith his private impressions of his neighbor Catherine II.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*The Revolutionary Period in Europe (1763-1815).* By HENRY ELDRIDGE BOURNE, Professor of History in Western Reserve University. [The Century Historical Series, edited by Professor GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, vol. VII.] (New York: The Century Company. 1914. Pp. 494.)

THE limits set by Professor Bourne to the period he has treated are 1763 and 1815, from the close of the Seven Years' War to the Congress of Vienna. No use is made of the conventional divisions—French Revolution and Napoleonic Era—although the space is about equally divided between these two, but the period is dealt with from the European standpoint and the matter distributed into twenty-seven chapters. The exposition passes naturally from a study of the conditions of the peoples and governments in Europe, through an examination of the Currents of Public Opinion and the Work of the Benevolent Despots, to an account of the French Monarchy as a Benevolent Despotism and the Fall of the Old Régime in France. Between the last two chapters is introduced a sketch of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century, especially in England. Although the topic is an important one and well handled, it seems out of place at this point in the exposition, breaking the continuity of the narrative. It would make a more natural and logical entrée in connection with the excellent chapter on the Continental System. The close connection between chapter XVII., a Beneficent Dictatorship, and chapter XIX., From Consulate to Empire, is broken by the chapter on Beginnings of Revolution in Germany; the chapter on the Reorganization of Prussia—XXII.—would find a more natural place before chapter XXV., the Last Great Venture, namely, the invasion of Russia. With these few exceptions, the order of topics seems excellent.

The choice of chapter headings has been uniformly happy, revealing the ripe scholar and the experienced teacher, and the chapters themselves are full of solid and important matter. Here, for the first time in a text-book, is to be found adequate treatment of such fundamental subjects as the reorganization of France by the Constituent Assembly, Finances and the Church, the Continental System, and the constructive statesmanship of Napoleon in France and in the other states of Europe. In a word, Professor Bourne has given us a comprehensive, scholarly, well-organized, and sober exposition of a very important period, the most satisfactory single volume on the subject yet published in English.

The book contains a bibliography, or "Notes on Books", of fourteen pages, chiefly of French titles. Professor Bourne knows the literature of his subject and has selected the choice things from the overwhelming mass of accessible material. Here and there an important book is missing. For the period of the French Revolution, I note the omission of: Flammermont, *Le Chancelier Maupeou et les Parlements*; Ségur, *Au Couchant de la Monarchie*; Hardy, *Mes Loisirs*; Bray, *Mémoires*; Ardascheff, *Les Intendants de Province sous Louis XVI.*; Glaugau, *Reformversuche und Sturz des Absolutismus in Frankreich*, and, by the same author, *Die Franz. Legislative*; Becker, *Die Verfassungspolitik der Franz. Regierung bei Beginn der grossen Revolution*; Mathiez, *Le Club des Cordeliers*; Dodu, *Le Parlementarisme*; the works of Vecchio, *Su la Teoria del Contratto Sociale* and *La Dichiarazione dei Diritti*; and Seligman, *La Justice en France pendant la Révolution*. The failure to include articles from reviews, although intentional, was, it seems to me, a mistake. Sometimes the only scholarly treatment we have of some important topic is found in a review and quite as accessible as many of the books referred to. There is so little in English on this period—I mean, so little that bears the hall-mark of scientific work—that if it were all referred to it would not overload the bibliography. Every student of the French Revolution should be acquainted with Professor Bourne's articles on the city government of Paris and the first Committee of Public Safety, published in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. Other studies are to be found in the *English Historical Review* and the *University Studies* (Nebraska). After noting omissions, it seems inconsistent to add that the bibliography is too long, but from a pedagogical point of view, the criticism is, I believe, sound. The bibliography is intended for the beginner who wishes to know the best thing that has been written on each subject, not all that has been written. It is assumed that he can use foreign languages. For such a student to read, in addition to Professor Bourne's volume, other short school texts and outgrown histories of the period, like Thiers, Mignet, and Carlyle, is a waste of time. If the number of titles were reduced, space would be gained, making it possible to characterize the volumes and to indicate what portion or portions should be read. The bibliography would be made more useful, if the full title of each work were given—author's name, title, number of volumes, place and date of publication—and if, under each chapter, the titles were grouped under secondary works and sources. The book has some excellent maps, but one more might be added making it possible for the student to find all the places referred to in the revolutionary and Napoleonic campaigns.

The publishers have done their part in producing an attractive and dignified volume. It maintains a high standard for the series of which it forms a part.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Private Papers of George, second Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1794-1801.* Edited by JULIAN S. CORBETT, LL.M. Volume II. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XLVIII.] (London: The Navy Records Society. 1914. Pp. viii, 518.)

THE editor adheres to the topical plan of arrangement, which he adopted in volume I., and groups the documents contained in this volume in seven parts. The first, the sixth, and the seventh parts consist largely of the correspondence between Spencer and Jervis and Nelson relating to the operations of the fleets in the Mediterranean preceding and incidental to the battles of St. Vincent and the Nile. The second part contains papers relating to the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, but nothing that adds much to our knowledge of the subject. Perhaps the most interesting document in this part is the statement of Richard Parker, the condemned mutineer. The third part is made up of papers relating to Duncan's manoeuvres in the North Sea and the battle of Camperdown. Part V. contains some interesting papers illustrative of the measures proposed to prevent the invasion which was threatened by the French in 1797-1798 and of Home Popham's expedition to Ostend in the latter year. The fourth part, including in all fewer than twenty pages, is occupied with "General Correspondence—March 1797 to May 1798". Among these few papers, however, are several of considerable interest. It is not easy to understand why Mr. Corbett printed "Mr. Pybus's Proposal for a Naval Order of Merit". But the secret order of the cabinet on July 19, 1797, that the members should hold themselves "bound not to communicate to any person whatever out of the Cabinet" (p. 213) the particulars of the negotiations between Malmesbury and the French ministers at Lille is of interest, as, likewise, is Pitt's letter to Spencer in the autumn of the same year, which gives an insight into the manner in which naval estimates were framed.

The documents in this volume that deal more particularly with naval matters are also of general interest, revealing, as they do, many things concerning the personnel, the methods, and the organization of the British navy in one of the most notable periods in its history. And even though the editor has succeeded only too well in his efforts to select papers pertaining solely to naval history, they nevertheless contain points that illuminate more general subjects. Henry Dundas, for example, appears in a more favorable light than that in which he is sometimes painted by the historians who write of his period, though he may have been inclined at times to be a little too blunt in the statement of his opinions to suit the taste of his more squeamish colleagues. He regarded the Cape of Good Hope as "in truth and *literally* so the key to the Indian and China commerce", and consequently he coveted it for Great Britain (p. 215). Before Bonaparte went to Egypt Dundas wrote to Spencer, "If any great European Power shall ever get possession of that country, the keeping it will cost them nothing, and that coun-



try so getting possession of Egypt will in my opinion be possessed of the master key to all the commerce of the world" (p. 318).

From the selections that have been published thus far it is manifest that Lord Spencer's papers are of almost equal importance for students of history with those of Pitt, Grenville, and other members of the British cabinet in that troublous time. It is regrettable, therefore, that those documents which would be of the greatest general interest are, in the language of the editor, "unfortunately too voluminous and too political" for publication in this series.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

*A History of the Peninsular War.* By CHARLES OMAN, M.A., Hon. LL.D., Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford University. Volume V. October, 1811–August 31, 1812. *Valencia; Ciudad Rodrigo; Badajoz; Salamanca; Madrid.* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1914. Pp. xiv, 634.)

AFTER the extended reviews of the earlier volumes of this work in this journal (VIII. 569; IX. 380; XIV. 131; XVII. 830), it might seem unnecessary to say more than that the present volume maintains the high standard set by its predecessors; but it does more, its incidents are of greater significance and interest; Professor Oman's handling of the complex problems is more masterly; and the narrative is rendered with more spirit and literary feeling than heretofore.

The first ninety pages tell the story of Suchet's campaign from the middle of September, 1811, to March, 1812, with the battle of Saguntum and the capture of Valencia. More than forty pages follow on the inconsequential siege of Tarifa and the minor campaigning. These pages are highly necessary to depict the background of Wellington's first great offensive, the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. The diversion of troops from Marmont to Suchet in Valencia, and the achievements of the guerrilla leaders like Mina (pp. 102–104) so kept down the numbers available for the French Army of Portugal that Wellington, after two years and a half of campaigning, felt warranted in taking the initiative.

The sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz with the consequent operations fill 140 pages; 200 pages more go to the campaign of Salamanca and the occupation of Madrid, with fifty additional pages on the synchronous lesser campaigns which kept more than half the French in the Peninsula distracted from the decisive operations. These major operations are described by Professor Oman with a fullness, accuracy, clearness, and realism that place his narrative ahead of Napier's. Napier's artificial literary luridness on the storm of Badajoz cannot compare for impressive effect with the simple but vivid realism of Oman's account. Napier glided over the disgrace of the sack in a brief paragraph; Oman hides none of its horror, and does not extenuate the crime though he presents clearly the military and ethical considerations

involved. In the description of Salamanca Oman has completely surpassed Napier.

Though Professor Oman writes primarily as a military historian, his treatment of the political situation is thorough and masterly. The chapters on Politics at Cadiz and Elsewhere (pp. 136-156) and on King Joseph as commander-in-chief (pp. 297-314) are illuminating. The effects of the emperor's efforts to manage the Spanish affair from Paris, of his drawing troops from Spain for the Russian campaign, and of his absence on that campaign are shown clearly and fairly, and are kept constantly in mind. Though Wellington is Oman's hero, the appraisal of his merits and faults seems done with even-handed justice. The judgments upon Suchet, Soult, and Marmont, though strict, are fairer than Napier's, which indulge Soult at the expense of Marmont. Oman is more severe with Napoleon than Napier, but makes his reasons clear and convincing. Compare Oman's "Napoleon was directly and personally responsible for the fall of Badajoz" (p. 214), with Napier's "The fall of Badajoz may therefore be traced partly to the Russian war. . . ." (book 16, chapter 7). Oman's correlation of events is masterly; only once are his phrases careless of precise synchronism, when he anticipates the Russian campaign by two months (p. 352). Such references to Napier as appear on pages 215 and 216 are unpardonable and should not be allowed to mar a future volume or a new edition, even granted that they are true.

New information has enabled Oman to correct and to supplement Napier at many points on matters of fact. The most notable materials which he has been the first to use are, as in the previous volume, the D'Urban and the Scovell papers. The peculiar interest of the Scovell ciphers is shown in Appendix 15, and the same papers furnish some hitherto unpublished despatches of the highest importance (pp. 370, 374, 394). The extensive appendixes contain a wealth of data of numbers engaged and of losses. There are fourteen excellent maps and plans, but every reader must frequently wish that a good map of the whole peninsula were available in each volume. The proof-reading has been so remarkably accurate that two or three errors are surprising. Ariège (p. 99), Treliard (p. 134, etc.), and Dembowski (p. 131 etc.) are the correct forms. The note on page 605 referring to the death of Dembowski is inaccurate.

The note dated August 5, 1914, added to the preface shows that the volume was completed before the declaration of war, but the reader who has alternated its pages with those of the daily paper has found interest and instruction beyond what the author could have anticipated.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

*Geschichte der Befreiungskriege, 1813 u. 1814.* Von HEINRICH ULMANN. Volume I. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1914. Pp. iv, 477.)

PROFESSOR ULMANN, best known perhaps for his biography of Emperor Maximilian I., has for many years been devoting his attention to the German War of Liberation. From the archives of several German states he has made valuable contributions on special topics connected with the political and diplomatic history of 1813. Unappalled by the mass of the existing literature, he is to be congratulated on his courage in attempting a new general account which shall worthily take cognizance of all the new material. He has mastered it, digested it, and given in foot-notes his reasons and references when his conclusions differ from those generally accepted.

The author does not attempt to give military movements in detail; military history, he thinks, belongs to the technical specialist interested in the lessons of tactics and strategy. One looks in vain, therefore, in his pages for a tolerable account of even such important battles as Gross-Görschen and Bautzen. His general map of north-central Germany is altogether inadequate, and there are no plans of separate battles. For the purely military side of the war, therefore, the English reader will find much more satisfaction in a volume like F. Loraine Petre's *Napoleon's Last Campaign in Germany* (1912) or in the Napoleonic books.

The special value of Professor Ulmann's work lies in his able statement of the shifting political situations and diplomatic moves, and in his keen analysis of the character and motives of the leaders of the period. In these fields he shows abundant knowledge, great fairness of mind, and the fruits of mature thinking. After an introduction of something over a hundred pages on the Napoleonic system and the effects of French rule in Germany and French failure in Russia, the author comes to Yorck's decisive act at Tauroggen. On the much discussed question whether Yorck acted independently without the king's knowledge and against his wishes (the older view of Droysen, Lehmann, Delbrück, and Schiemann), or whether he had some secret instructions (as maintained more recently by Max Schultze, Oncken, Blumenthal, and particularly by Thimme, in the *Forsch. zur Brandb. u. Preuss. Gesch.*, vols. XIII., XV., XVIII., XXI.), Ulmann believes that the older view is the only one which accords with Yorck's character and with the subsequent letters which he wrote to the king. The newer view rests on passages in the diary of L. von Wrangel, in which Wrangel claimed, in August, 1812, to have foreseen the collapse of the Russian expedition and to have been entrusted by Frederick William III. with a secret mission to make plans for withdrawing the Prussian army from French control. It has been argued, however, that the passages in question in the diary are in a different hand, in different ink, and of a later date than the unquestioned daily entries; Ulmann accepts this somewhat doubtful argument, and discredits these passages as a

fiction of Wrangel's phantasy suggested after the fact by the subsequent course of actual events.

In tracing the steps by which Prussia, finally allied with Russia, fought the spring campaign against a new French army, agreed to the armistice of June 4, and finally allied itself with Austria, the author does not seek to establish any startlingly new points. He gives, rather, a good clear synthesis of the researches of others, with particular attention to underlying motives. This first volume, which reaches only to August, 1813, closes with an interesting estimate of the influence of the newspapers and of the poets and pamphleteers. A second volume is promised at an early date.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Fürst Bismarck, 1890-1898: nach Persönlichen Mittheilungen des Fürsten und eigenen Aufzeichnungen des Verfassers nebst einer Authentischen Ausgabe aller vom Fürsten Bismarck herrührenden Artikel in den "Hamburger Nachrichten".* Von HERMANN HOFMANN. In two volumes. (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft. 1913. Pp. xx, 411; vii, 429.)

AFTER Bismarck's dismissal from office, it was universally known that the *Hamburger Nachrichten* was his organ, and that many of its communications and editorial articles were inspired by him. In some cases the content of an article left no doubt as to its source because no one but Bismarck could well have furnished the material. In other cases, in which it seemed probable that an article was his, there remained an element of doubt. For the historian, accordingly, the present volumes are of great value, for they contain a reprint in chronological order of articles inspired by Bismarck, from April 19, 1890—a month after his dismissal—to March 26, 1898—four months before his death. These articles, which vary in length from a single paragraph to a leader of 1500 or even 2000 words, number 375. Nor do these fully represent Bismarck's activity as "contributing editor"; for Hofmann gives a list with titles and dates of publication, of 273 other Bismarck articles. The importance of these volumes, not only to the biographer but to the historian, is that they substitute certainty for conjecture as regards Bismarck's authorship and thus make available, because authentic, a mass of previously doubtful Bismarck material. It is to be regretted that Hofmann did not enlarge his collection to three volumes and reprint all the Bismarck articles. His judgment as to the relative importance of the articles selected is probably in the main sound; but the biographer or historian may prefer to make up his own mind on this point, and it will be troublesome for him to be obliged to go through the files of the newspaper for eight years, even with Hofmann's key to aid him. Even for the general reader it is rather a pity that all the

articles are not reprinted; for Bismarck never spoke or wrote unless he had something to say and he was rarely dull. Many readers to whom the original files are inaccessible would like to see, for example, what he had to say about Cecil Rhodes and "Herr Oppert aus Blowitz", and how he treated such subjects as "Prince Bismarck as alleged 'sticker' and salary-grabber" and "England, the most virtuous country in politics".

The articles reprinted, as well as those listed only, fall roughly into three classes: (1) those correcting objectionable statements concerning Bismarck's career, aims, and policies; (2) those criticizing the foreign and domestic policy of Bismarck's successors in power; (3) those dealing with topics of interest in the political and economic discussions of the day. Articles of the first group are of course to be used with caution. Bismarck possessed, as he has shown in his memoirs, a highly reconstructive memory. Of greater value, in some cases of the greatest value, are the articles of the other groups. Some of them are of very special interest at the present moment. Bismarck's warnings against cutting loose from Russia and committing Germany to an unqualified support of Austria's Balkan aspirations (almost *passim*) read to-day like verified prophecies. The same may be said of his disapproval of German interference with Japan, when Germany co-operated with France and Russia in compelling Japan to give up its conquests in China (II. 298, 302). In an article of the first group, written to deny an assertion that he and Moltke were seriously at odds in 1871 regarding the policy of annexing Belfort, he made, almost *obiter*, the very interesting statement that, in the event of a "war on both fronts" it was Moltke's opinion that Germany should limit itself to the defensive against France until the contest with Russia should be carried to a successful termination. This statement having aroused question he reiterated it (II. 192-196, 206). In an article of the third group, written to urge governmental encouragement of German wheat-growing, we find a discussion of the danger of Germany being starved by a naval blockade (II. 217-218). There is no suggestion that such an attempt would be either illegal or immoral.

Hofmann was the channel through which Bismarck's inspirations flowed into the columns of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. He made frequent visits to Friedrichsruh and to other places, in order to receive Bismarck's instructions; and he tells us that the prince frequently corrected his drafts before they went to press. Bismarck talked freely to Hofmann about events and persons, always distinguishing sharply between what was to be used in the newspaper and what was not to be used. Some of the material which Hofmann thus obtained he published later, in his own or in other papers; and much of this has been utilized by writers of Bismarck books. Some of the material given to Hofmann was used by the prince himself in his memoirs. Nevertheless, the personal notes and reminiscences which Hofmann has now collected, and

which he presents in the first half of his first volume, are in part new and are nearly all interesting. They constitute a valuable addition to the already extensive mass of Bismarckiana. Hofmann's intercourse with Bismarck, not only in its intimacy but in the amount of time passed in the prince's company, was incomparably more important than that of the garrulous and sensational Busch.

MUNROE SMITH.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*A Walloon Family in America: Lockwood de Forest and his Forebears, 1500-1848, together with A Voyage to Guiana, being the Journal of Jesse de Forest and his Colonists, 1623-1625.* By Mrs. ROBERT W. DE FOREST. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1914. Pp. xxi, 314; ix, 391.)

It is a mere truism to say that reliable private family records are precious contributions to colonial history, but rarely are such publications as valuable as the present volume. The introductory portion, to be sure, is not new, being based on *The De Forests of Avesnes (and New Netherland)* by John W. De Forest. This was a conscientious piece of genealogical work published in 1900 as the result of the author's researches in local history abroad. He succeeded in patching together a clear statement anent the family in the little Hainaut town of Avesnes and in linking the line of Jesse De Forest, *tincturier*, who emigrated with his family to Leyden (after ventures in other towns, in the first decade of the seventeenth century), to that of the merchants of Avesnes. Major De Forest's task was complicated by the variety of forms in which the name appeared in France and the Netherlands, where French families often lost their identity under the semi-translation of their names, both family and baptismal. It was necessary to thread a way carefully through a maze of De Freests, Van Foreests, etc., and to avoid being deceived by appearances or allured into claiming connection with such a family as the Van Foreests of Alkmaar, for instance. Major De Forest showed his knowledge of the many guises possible to his patronymic, and made out a good case establishing Jesse as the ancestor of the family who settled in New Amsterdam, although Jesse himself never saw Manhattan Island. He was known to have been among those who petitioned the English ambassador to Holland that the king should be asked to permit the settlement of "fifty or sixty families, as well Walloon as French", in Virginia, the settlers preserving self-government, their own language, religion, and customs. Fifty-six heads of families put their names to the famous Round Robin accompanying this request. It was refused, though the would-be emigrants were assured of a welcome in the English colonies if they would go by families and



mingle with the English. Baffled in this plan, Jesse turned his thoughts to another venture whereby he could establish his young family out in the New World where there was room to expand. From 1619 on, there were many colonization schemes initiated in the Netherlands, and the one in which he took part was directed towards the "Wild Coast" of South America by the efforts of the newly established West India Company (1623). Jesse De Forest was leader or "captain" of the ten heads of families who set forth in the *Pigeon* in July. Hitherto all that has been known of this expedition was in a meagre statement by Wasse-naar. In 1901, the Rev. George Edmundson found among the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum a manuscript journal entitled "Journal du Voyage fait par les Peres de Famille envoyés par MM. les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales pour visiter la Coste de Guiane". It is this journal that Mrs. De Forest has now published, first in narrative form and then entire in the original French and with English translation. In quoting from the earlier De Forest work, it may be said in passing, that Mrs. De Forest has made one or two trifling slips that do not appear in the original, as when she says in a note (I. 5) that "Hainaut was ceded to Spain in 1559", which was, of course, far from being the case, although it is true that various towns along the frontier, captured by the French in the wars between Charles V. and Henry II., were returned at the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. The main part of the narrative of the immigration and later fortunes of Jesse's children in New Netherland is also based on source-works already well known, such as the *Records of New Amsterdam*, the *New York Colonial Documents*, the *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, etc. For the Connecticut branch of the family, the author had Connecticut records, also available to the curious. But the Journal comes as a fresh gift and is a most interesting document. It seems to have been referred to in the Venezuela Boundary dispute, but otherwise it has lain as "Sloane MS. 179 b", unheeded as being the authentic story of one of the tragic colonizing episodes of the seventeenth century. Jesse De Forest never returned from Guiana. It was left to his children to make their own ventures in North instead of South America. Many incidental items of information are given in and between the lines of the Journal—possibly written by Jean Mousnier de la Montagne. Perhaps the most interesting is the circumstantial proof that it was in 1624 that the *Nieu Nederlandt* landed her ship-load of settlers on Manhattan Island, not in 1623 as has sometimes been inferred.

R. P.

*Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800.* Volume I., 1726-1774. [Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, seventh series, vol. IX.] (Boston: Published by the Society. 1914. Pp. xiii, 525.)

We have in this volume the only considerable body of commercial correspondence relating to the American colonies which has ever been

printed. It is made up of letters which were written to four prominent merchants of Newport during the eighteenth century by their customers, agents, factors, ship captains, etc., in all parts of the world. The communications are few and scattering before 1750 but after that date they are numerous and while by no means complete, they give a fairly full account of the private business transactions of these merchants, who were more or less concerned with almost every branch of colonial commerce. This is a kind of information about business conditions very difficult to obtain for even recent times and rare indeed for the eighteenth century. It is important to determine the value of such a collection as an historical source. A careful reading of the letters reveals nothing concerning the ordinary features of colonial commerce which was not already well known, the commodities which entered into it, the communities between which it was carried on, and the economic conditions in these communities which gave rise to it. But how the trade was conducted, the commercial customs and practices which prevailed, the world-wide organization which was necessary for the transmission of funds, for the extensive use of credit which was so common, and for the insurance in England of vessels and cargoes in all parts of the world, all these subjects have been matters for pure conjecture hitherto or only to be inferred from a few scattered facts. Here for the first time we have available, in printed form, a considerable body of materials for their study.

One or two examples of the kind of result which can be gained from a study of these details may be noticed. Take the relations of the colonial merchant to his factor in London or Bristol, as they are here revealed. The latter not only acted as commercial agent, receiving and disposing of cargoes shipped to him, purchasing and despatching return cargoes, but more important still was his financial service. He really acted as a banker for the colonial merchant. The merchant in Newport was allowed to draw on his factor in anticipation of shipments of produce in the near and remote future; this really amounted to discounting the paper of the colonial merchant. It was this banking function of the factor which prevented the rise of commercial banking in America until after the Revolution. It is a remarkable fact that although the commercial activity of the trading communities in the northern colonies was almost as great as in Europe, it nevertheless occasioned no development of banking institutions. The explanation is found in the fact that the banking business was done by the factors. When this old relation between colonial merchants was interrupted by the Revolution, commercial banking promptly sprang up in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Another striking feature of colonial commerce brought out in these letters is the great risk which was involved in it. The common term of "venture" applied to commercial enterprises at the time was well chosen. No merchant could be at all sure when he ordered his ship captain to sail to any port with a cargo of commodities

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suited to its ordinary need, what would be the condition of the market when his ship arrived. It might be so glutted by the arrival of other ships that a large part of his cargo would have to be sacrificed. Over and over again we find the captain complaining of such condition, whether the cargo be slaves from Africa to the West Indies, candles, staves, fish, beef, and horses from New England to the same place, or mahogany and logwood from the Bay of Honduras to Bristol and London. These were the ordinary risks of peaceful times. It need hardly be said that war added to them a thousandfold. There is nothing in modern commerce to compare with these risks which the colonial merchant had to undertake in all his operations.

In conclusion it will not be amiss to add a word of caution against over-estimating the importance of commerce in the economic life of the colonies. This was the subject which engrossed the attention of the English government and their officials and so has been more written about than any other economic subject. But it should never be forgotten that, outside of tide-water Virginia and South Carolina, commerce played no such part in the economic life of the colonies as it does in modern communities. Nine-tenths and more of the products of all communities not located on tide-water never entered into commerce, but were consumed in the communities where they were produced. If we would understand the economic life of the people we must study these small self-sufficing communities, where the bulk of the people lived. The over-sea commerce of the colonies is important because it furnished the only opportunity for the individual to become wealthy, where there were no staples to be produced by slave labor, but it did not affect profoundly the life of the masses of the people. To reveal that, the account books and correspondence of a country storekeeper in some interior town like Litchfield or Stockbridge would be more valuable than the correspondence of the wealthy merchants in Newport. It is to be hoped that the society to which we are indebted for this collection of economic data will not neglect the other field.

GUY S. CALLENDER.

*Correspondence and Documents during Jonathan Law's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1741-1750. Volume III., January 1747-October 1750. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XV.] (Hartford: Published by the Society. 1914. Pp. xxiii, 532.)*

WITH the issue of the third volume of the *Law Papers*, covering the period from 1747 to 1750, the Connecticut Historical Society has carried well along toward completion the publication of the correspondence of Connecticut's governors in the eighteenth century. The first volume of the *Talcott Papers*, beginning the series with the year 1724, was issued in 1892, and there are still the Wolcott and Fitch papers to follow. No state historical society, dependent solely on its own re-

sources, has rendered to colonial history quite so unique a service as this, or has organized its activities in a form at once so systematic and continuous. The value of the plan is evident. In these five volumes we have, first, an index to the internal concerns and external relations of the colony during twenty-five years of a period that has been commonly neglected of historians, and, secondly, a mass of documentary material that discloses the importance of those years, not only for the domestic life of the colony but also for its relations with other colonies and with England. In many ways, Connecticut was the most independent self-governing unit of the entire colonial group and, as one might readily imagine, the one farthest removed from the interfering authority of the mother-country. Yet after reading the documents here printed no one could support the contention that the status of Connecticut was not that of a colony, or that its career was not affected constantly by the relationship which that status involved. Much light is thrown also on the intercourse with adjoining colonies and on the difficulties that arose whenever common action was sought for, as in the proposed meetings for defense at New York, Middletown, Albany, and Portland, or at Boston for considering the money grants by Parliament. The most prominent single matter dealt with in this volume is financial, touching bills of credit and the money allowed by Parliament for the colony's services at Cape Breton and on the intended expedition against Canada. But lesser issues hold an important place, such as the boundary dispute with Massachusetts, illicit trade under flags of truce, the Mohegan difficulty, the proposed appointment of a bishop in America, and the various acts of Parliament that concerned the colonies. The longest document printed is the muster-roll of Col. Williams's regiment, the original of which is among the War Office records in the Public Record Office, and among the most interesting letters are those from Col. Williams himself written to the colony from London. The largest number of letters are those from Gov. Shirley, some sixty in all, none of which are printed in Lincoln's edition of Shirley's *Correspondence*, owing probably to the wish of the Connecticut society to print them itself. There is one proclamation here printed and another referred to that are not included in Brigham's series. As both proclamations are to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and as Mr. Brigham prints no proclamations for the years from 1744 to 1752, we are led to believe, either that Mr. Brigham did not consider such proclamations as coming within his scope, or that he did not examine this particular source of information. The editor of the volume, Mr. Albert C. Bates, has performed his task in a manner almost impeccable. He might have added perhaps a few more annotations, though in view of the length of the volume and the plan of the series elaborate annotation was manifestly undesirable, and in the list of forts entered in the excellent index he might have inserted the eight references to Fort Number Four.

C. M. A.

*Writings of John Quincy Adams.* Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume IV., 1811-1813. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. xxv, 541.)

WITH each new volume of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, the scope of this important collection of documents becomes clearer and more impressive. A somewhat minute comparison of this fourth volume with the corresponding volume of the *Memoirs* yields convincing proof that the editor has carefully avoided duplication. The formal despatches and even the intimate letters which Adams penned at St. Petersburg in the years 1811, 1812, and 1813, not only add to the detailed records of the diary, but contribute materially to an understanding of the social as well as the political world in which he moved. Adams never allowed himself to record a careless or inaccurate observation in his journal, but he not infrequently omitted, or merely alluded to items of political interest. His formal despatches, on the contrary, are models of punctilious statement. Not a fact or impression which could serve the purposes of his government was suffered to escape. It is not until late in April, 1811, for example, that the *Memoirs* contain any intimation of the approaching rupture between Russia and France; but the despatches to the Secretary of State describe many "symptoms of political alienation" as early as February of that year.

Beside the despatches, which occupy nearly one-half of the volume, there are many lengthy epistles—*letters* seems too slight a word to apply to Adams's correspondence. In writing to members of his family, he relaxed his official austerity somewhat, but he never became spontaneous. Even to his son, for whom he had a deep affection, he wrote in a stilted style which seems addressed quite as much to posterity. On September 1, 1811, he recorded in his diary: "I began this morning the first of a series of letters which I intend to write to my son George upon subjects of serious import." At the close of the first of these letters, he wrote, "I shall number separately these letters that I mean to write you on the subject of the Bible. And as, after they are finished, I shall perhaps ask you to read them all together or to look over them again myself, you must keep them on a separate file. I wish that hereafter they may be useful to your brothers and sister as well as to you."

It was a strange diplomatic world in which Adams moved at St. Petersburg. Few Americans of his day could have played a part in it with his dignity and independence; and even he succumbed at times to the un-American fashions about him. Describing a dinner at the French ambassador's, he wrote, without the slightest approach to humor,

As my style here is altogether republican, I went only in a chariot and four, attended by two footmen in livery, and driven by a coachman on the carriage box, and a postillion, between boy and man, on the right side horse of the leading pair. My own footmen followed me about

half the way up the stairs, when I threw off and gave them my *shoop*, a large outside fur garment, fit only for wearing in a carriage.

The picture hardly harmonizes with traditional republican simplicity.

Special interest attaches to the despatches in which Adams describes the relation of Russia to the Continental System of Napoleon. The impossibility of a rigid regulation of trade and the community of interests which were drawing Russia and England together, are pointed out in the incisive way of which Adams was master. In a despatch to Secretary James Monroe dated October 16, 1811, there is an illuminating passage (written in cypher in the original) which is worth quoting in full, for the light that it sheds on Russian-American relations.

The Russian commerce of exportation [wrote Adams] is an object of such importance not only to the nation but to the crown and to the nobility who compose the imperial councils and command in the armies that they can never consent to sacrifice it, nor would the sovereign himself, perhaps, be secure upon his throne, should he arrest entirely the circulation which feeds the source of his own revenues and of the private fortunes of all the principal nobility. But Great Britain and the United States are the only markets for this exportation still open, and so long as the peace between them continues, the ships and vessels of the United States provide the means of carriage to England as well as to America. Should, however, the war break out, the exportation to both would become much more difficult. The English being masters of the Baltic would probably not permit the American flag to appear upon it, no neutral vehicle of commerce would be left, and Russia would be reduced to the alternative of sacrificing all her export trade, or of permitting it to be carried by English vessels. The first is obviously the present purpose of France; but I have suggested the causes which render compliance with it here impracticable. The second cannot be done without an avowed and formal peace with England, or at least without precipitating a war with France, which Russia is equally desirous of avoiding. It is this view of things which makes Russia take so much interest in our peace with England; nor is it one of the motives upon which France is so anxious to procure the war. The same view appears to me not less important to the United States themselves, whose policy, if I may be permitted to express an opinion, coincides entirely with that of Russia.

When the belated news of the declaration of war by the United States reached Adams, late in the year 1812, he could see but one great issue involved. "The war hangs upon a single point; and that is *impressment*." And six months later he was of the same mind: impressment was neither more nor less than the crime of "manstealing". "The principle for which we are now struggling is of a higher and more sacred nature than any question about mere taxation can involve. It is the principle of personal liberty and of every social right."

Items of biographical interest abound in this volume. The motives and circumstances which impelled Adams to decline an appointment to



the Supreme Court of the United States, are set forth in his serious way in letters to President Madison and to John Adams. A choice letter, written in Adams's best vein, describes an interview with Madame de Staël. He entered the salon just as the brilliant Frenchwoman was haranguing Lord Cathcart on the glories of the British nation. "To which his Lordship added that their glory was in being a *Moral Nation*, a character which he was sure they would always preserve." "If my mind had been sufficiently at ease to relish anything in the nature of an exhibition", comments Adams grimly, "I should have been much amused at hearing a French woman's celebration of the English for generosity toward other nations, and a lecture upon national morality from the commander of the expedition to Copenhagen."

Long residence abroad did not abate Adams's intense nationalism. On the contrary, it seemed only to emancipate him from the narrow provincialism of his section. He had small patience with the attitude of men like Josiah Quincy who were opposing the admission of Louisiana as a state. That question, to Adams's mind, was settled eight years before. "I love my native land, as much as Mr. Quincy", he wrote, "and I feel an attachment of sentiment to the very spot of my birth which will quit me only with my life. But I could take by the hand as a fellow-citizen a man born on the banks of the Red River or the missouri with just the same cordiality, that I could at least half a million of natives of Massachusetts." One more quotation will suffice to attest Adams's statesmanlike breadth of vision at this time. "I am not displeased to hear that Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Louisiana are rapidly peopling with Yankees", he wrote in 1813. "I consider them as an excellent race of people, and as far as I am able to judge I believe that their moral and political character far from degenerating improves by emigration. I have always felt on that account a sort of predilection for those rising western states. . . . There is not upon this globe of earth a spectacle exhibited by man so interesting to my mind or so consolatory to my heart as this metamorphosis of howling deserts into cultivated fields and populous villages which is yearly, daily, hourly, going on by the hands chiefly of New England men in our western states and territories. If New England loses her influence in the councils of the Union it will not be owing to any diminution of her population occasioned by these emigrations; it will be from the partial, sectarian, or as Hamilton called it *clannish*, spirit which makes so many of her political leaders jealous and envious of the west and of the south."

ALLEN JOHNSON.

*A Great Peace Maker: the Diary of James Gallatin, Secretary to Albert Gallatin, 1813-1827.* With an introduction by Viscount BRYCE. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1914. Pp. xv, 314.)

CERTAIN features in the presentation of this volume are decidedly open to criticism. The text of the diary is obviously not pure. A note on page 51 calls attention to one story that could not have been told on the date under which it occurs, and explains the anachronism by alluding to the fact that the diary, which closes in 1827, was in a bad condition in 1869 and was put in shape by its author, who at that time added notes. Most of these were excluded from publication, but on pages 28 and 61 other aberrations occur without warning. In general, however, the diary bears on its face the evidence of its authenticity. It is surprising to find Viscount Bryce in his introduction speaking of the second Mrs. Albert Gallatin, a member of a well-known Maryland family, which indeed gave Gallatin much the same kind of start in politics as the Schuyler connection gave Hamilton, as "a typical New Englander of that time" (p. x), and not less strange to find him saying of Gallatin that he "resumed the wise financial policy of Alexander Hamilton" (p. ix). He also speaks of the editor as Count Albert, instead of James Gallatin (p. x).

The question of authenticity is of special importance, for the diary is the only available evidence of the fact that the Duke of Wellington wrote to Albert Gallatin during the negotiations of 1814 (pp. 34-55). This is the most important single contribution. A letter of Colonel Barry, describing an interview with Napoleon at Elba, is of some importance, if it has not been printed elsewhere. The other letters and documents included in the volume have been printed in the *Writings and Life of Gallatin*, edited and written by Henry Adams. The statement in the diary that Gallatin was nominated for the vice-presidency in 1824 in the hope that in this way he might succeed to the presidency, for which his birth disqualified his standing directly (p. 251), suggests several questions.

The diary gains no historical significance from its author, though he interests us as illustrating that an American mother and education could leave him more French than his father. While his brother Albert appears in every line American, and appropriate founder of the American branch of the family, James rejoices at every mile and day of absence from America and becomes founder of a repatriated line. His grandson has cut from the diary "anything that might offend" (p. v), but this does not include that which is supposed to offend the Anglo-Saxon. It is a diary by a young man; and not for the "young person". With this frankness goes an infectious gaiety which gives the diary a unique charm and promises it long life among general readers.

Throughout, against a background of frivolity and social tattle of the *haut monde*, looms the figure of the father of the diarist. No

other material has made Albert Gallatin so living a figure. One realizes how completely he was of the governing class of Europe. Descendant of Jacques Coeur, cousin of Madame de Staël, cousin of Cavour, youthful intimate of Voltaire, he was of a long-enduring stock, of a family which commanded universal entrée. His personality placed him with the elect of this class. The czar, the Duke of Wellington, and Napoleon all gave him signal attention; he could have domesticated himself among the inner circle in any country of Europe. Why did he return to America, where he rightly judged that his career was ended, that worse conditions would ensue before better ones could evolve? Foremost among the reasons was a great and simple love of republican institutions, which shines through all his speech and action. Equally strong, if not more fundamental, was that spirit of loyalty to a task undertaken, to a country voluntarily adopted, inbred in the Swiss, and which had caused Gallatins for centuries to give true service to most of the countries of Europe: the spirit which the Lion of Lucerne commemorates.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*The Winning of the Far West: a History of the Regaining of Texas, of the Mexican War, and the Oregon Question; and of the Successive Additions to the Territory of the United States, within the Continent of America, 1829-1867.* By ROBERT McNUTT McELROY, Ph.D., Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1914. Pp. x, 384.)

THIS is a somewhat pretentious book: "It is based", the preface informs us, "upon authoritative, and in part unpublished, sources, and was written at the instance of the publishers, to constitute a continuation of Colonel Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*". To the author it presents a "theme of epic character", and he tells us that the "volume will have failed of its mission if it does not show that the winning of the Far West is an achievement in which every citizen of the Republic may feel an honest pride". Such a purpose and spirit raise an expectation of a literary treatment based upon a fresh handling of materials, together with a doubt concerning the honest pride. One feels at the outset that it may be an epic wherein the gods have staged a play known variously as Manifest Destiny, Benevolent Assimilation, or even as Mommsen's Law. On the last page of the book the doubt is abundantly confirmed. The author closes with the following words: "In looking backward over the process, we cannot fail to see manifest destiny in almost every page . . . it has been a past of which no American need feel ashamed." It is true that so many works treating of this era have been written from this point of view that it was once the traditional method of treating the subject. It is something of a shock, however, to discover, after so many have labored to establish a different

basis, that it should still serve for a serious historical undertaking. Nevertheless its presence reveals more than a page of detailed criticism would do. The author himself gives unconscious comment upon it, for in a foot-note directly below this *envoi* appears an abstract of Andrew Johnson's memorandum concerning the alleged distribution of part of the proceeds of the Alaska Purchase. The egregious Anthony Butler's activities, and Jackson's relations to them, the strange diplomatic perversities of Scott and Trist, the cold-blooded aggression of Polk, and the amazing mission of Gadsden (a story not yet told), of all these we are not exactly proud even if we accept a theory of history-writing in which an appeal to pride is of much importance. Much of this nationalistic expansion, whatever the motives behind it, or the means used to carry it out, was in style frequently called "dashing" or "adventurous", even arrogant, boisterous, and noisy. All of this does not make accurate historical writing easy, but it helps to tell a story. The writer of this volume delights in episodes in which appear old favorites. Jackson, "the battered old (*var.*, "grizzled") war-horse", Sam Houston and Deaf Smith, "his trusty scout", give a *dramatis personae* of the opening act, the Independence of Texas, wherein we are not disappointed to hear that "the bloody avenger has arrived", and herein also, quite properly, out dashes "the horseman flecked with foam from his panting charger". All this, fitted with apocryphal speeches by Houston and English expletives from Santa Anna, serves to revive boyhood memories of Captain Mayne Reid. Fortunately this tone could hardly last throughout the volume, and the manner and style cool greatly in the following chapter, wherein a letter from Lewis to Houston is printed with the meticulousness of the *Documentary History of the Constitution*, unnecessarily carefully, it would seem, considering its intrinsic importance. After such extremes of style a better balance is preserved, and the writer's account of the Mexican War is graphic and readable. Even here, however, one finds some statements which need revision. It is something of an exaggeration to say (p. 151) that the "Rio Grande was filled with the corpses of those who had ventured their lives in one mad effort to stem its turbid current" after Resaca de la Palma.

The bulk of the volume is connected with the events from 1836 to 1848; to the Gadsden Purchase are allotted but two pages and nothing is said about Buchanan's attempts at intervention in Mexico. The concluding chapter is a brief but comprehensive account of the Alaska Purchase. The materials used are wholly American, and nearly all are in print, with the exception of the Ford collection of Jackson letters, of which it is incorrect to say (p. 2) that they "have escaped the notice of historical investigators". Some of the citations are surprising. Why, for example, refer to the *Charleston Mercury* for Poinsett's instructions (p. 8), when they are in the *American State Papers*, or to Chase's *History of the Polk Administration* for the Oregon Notice Resolution (p. 127)? More serious are misstatements of fact or inference. Mon-

roe did not know that more territory could have been obtained in 1819 (p. 4), nor is it correct to say (p. 4) that "Texas was surrendered to obtain Florida", perhaps the author's favorite idea, expressed in the subtitle and insisted upon in the text; Tyler's plan was not "to gain Texas and California by bartering Oregon (p. 118)", and France never claimed Oregon (p. 87), nor does Greenhow, cited as authority, say so. Ashburton's attitude toward Oregon would have been made clearer by reference to his instructions, which are in print. Pakenham's proposal to Calhoun of August 26, 1844, while rejected the same day, was but the beginning of a negotiation lasting for months (p. 123). The proposal to arbitrate the Oregon question had been made by Pakenham as early as January, 1845 (p. 125), and Calhoun's position in February, 1846, was not essentially different from that held by him while Secretary of State (p. 126). Ivan the Terrible reigned from 1533, not 1547 (p. 103), the Russo-American treaty of 1824 was not signed by "John Quincy Adams as President" (p. 106) and the Gadsden Purchase was originally much more than 45,000 miles in extent before the Senate reduced it by amendment (p. 347). But to prolong the list would be to imitate the classical exercises with D'Aubigné and Thiers.

All in all, one's judgment must be that the performance fails to measure up to the hopes aroused by the glowing preface. In so far as the history of American expansion has to do with diplomacy it must be written with constant mindfulness of the maxim *audietur et altera pars*. Until the examination of the Mexican and other archives, now so auspiciously begun, has been completed, we must not expect a definitive history of this important, but assuredly no longer neglected, period. Certainly Mr. McElroy has not brought us nearer the desired goal.

JESSE S. REEVES.

*Samuel F. B. Morse: his Letters and Journals.* Edited and supplemented by his Son, EDWARD LIND MORSE. Illustrated with Reproductions of his Paintings and with Notes and Diagrams bearing on the Invention of the Telegram. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1914. Pp. xxi, 440; xvi, 548.)

THIS book is in reality a life of Morse, written by his son, Edward Lind Morse. The story is told in great part through extracts from letters and selections from journals, but narrative, at first merely supplementary and explanatory, becomes more frequent and important as the work progresses, and in the later periods when Morse had become a figure of international importance, it is the dominant feature.

The career of Morse is of two quite distinct and very different parts. In volume I. we have the beginnings—in middle life—of a painter; in the second volume the beginnings—in middle life—the struggles, and the final triumph of an inventor. In the earlier letters there is much

about Benjamin West and Washington Allston, and we get glimpses of Copley, and later of Thorwaldsen, Horace Vernet, and Turner; but there is little evidence, either during Morse's three years (1812-1815) as an art student in London, or during the later period (1830-1833) which he spent in painting in the Louvre and in the Italian galleries, of any profound impression made upon his mind by the great masters, or of any susceptibility to the artistic atmosphere of the time.

And yet Morse had undoubtedly unusual aptitude for painting. Within a year of his arrival in London he received a gold medal from the Society of Arts. His *Dying Hercules*, exhibited at the Royal Academy while he was still an art student, and the strength of the composition of many of his later portraits which are admirably reproduced in these pages, rather than anything he says about art, seem to justify the confidence which he frequently expressed in his early days but never finally realized, that he had in him the making of a great painter.

During his two earlier visits to Europe Morse made many interesting acquaintances, and the names, if too often little more, of Lamb, Coleridge, Samuel Rogers, Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper, Wilberforce, Abernethy, Lafayette, Alexander von Humboldt, and other famous men of the times, appear in his letters.

The War of 1812, which began and ended during his first residence in London, is the subject of much comment, and the letters of that period are of particular interest at the present time. On page 92 (vol. I.), for example, Morse recounts a conversation with Henry Thornton, M.P., in which Thornton stated that the British object in the Orders in Council was the *Universal monopoly of commerce*, but that America ought to have considered the circumstances of the case, and that *Great Britain was fighting for the liberties of the world*.

It would be hard to find a parallel to Morse's experience in 1832. He set sail for home an American artist of middle age returning from a prolonged stay in the European galleries and full of plans for the painting of future masterpieces. He landed in New York the inventor of the telegraph, and entered forthwith into a new, strenuous, and wholly unpremeditated career.

The decade ending in 1843 with the appropriation by Congress of the funds with which to build the experimental line between Washington and Baltimore, and with Morse's triumphant demonstration of the practicability of his system, is the most appealing and dramatic period of his life. Throughout these ten long years he struggled ceaselessly and with singlemindedness, amid increasing poverty due to the necessary neglect of his only means of subsistence, to develop his invention and to prove its usefulness. The subsequent period of long-continued and bitter litigation to establish his rights and to secure his interests, and even the final years of prosperity during which fame, honor, and international recognition were his, lack the intense interest of that time of stress and desperate endeavor.



As a portrait of the man this work is admirable; and although not free from a certain bias which is natural enough when we consider that the author is a son of the personage described, it is doubtless essentially accurate. The pervading strain of Puritan piety and a certain simplicity of nature, which were among Morse's most striking characteristics, are amply displayed.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that there should be even less of electricity in the account of Morse the inventor than of art in that of Morse the painter. All that pertains to art is regarded as literature; all except the vaguest generalities concerning science is deemed mere technical "shop". To the reader of these pages it will nevertheless be clear that the transition which occurred in 1832 was not from art to science, but from art to invention. Although Morse brought with him to America Daguerre's great discovery and through it came into touch with one of the keenest and most fertile minds of the time, it was Draper who first applied photography to research, while Morse used it in the making of portraits. Although from his work upon the telegraph came acquaintance with Joseph Henry and with his great achievements in electricity, the connection led to no scientific results.

To the fact that Morse was neither a man of science like Draper or Henry, nor an inventor of the usual type, but a large-minded, intensely patriotic Yankee of the sort not uncommon in his day, was probably due his great success. His dream, which he tried in vain to make a reality, was to turn the telegraph over to the government of his country for the use of its citizens forever; his vision was always of the great benefit to humanity which was to come from his labors.

E. L. NICHOLS.

*Reconstruction in North Carolina.* By J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Ph.D., Alumni Professor of History, University of North Carolina. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LVIII., no. 141.] (New York: Columbia University. 1914. Pp. 683.)

PROFESSOR HAMILTON's volume has a double value. As a study of the process of reconstruction within a state, it illustrates the principal usefulness of research in the local field—the visualization of the character and results of national policies. The book is also the only comprehensive survey of the history of North Carolina from 1860 to 1876, in fact it is the most extensive single contribution to any period of the state's history. A distinguishing feature is the transition of interest back and forth from matters of primarily local importance to those of more national interest.

One of the author's conclusions is that if the Congressional plan of reconstruction had not been applied, North Carolina would to-day, "so

far as one can estimate human probabilities, be solidly Republican". Evidence for this conclusion is the analysis of political history from 1850 to 1867, which is given in the first four chapters. The theme is the decline of the Whig party after 1850, the rise of a radical type of democracy and of the sentiment favorable to secession, the return of Whig leadership with the Vance administration during the war, and the continued supremacy of the Whigs "who had no thought of joining in politics their old opponents the Democrats", in the elections under the Johnsonian plan of restoration. Such an interpretation from such evidence is not to be rejected, but the reader is not guarded against inferring some wrong deductions, while certain details of significance are unduly emphasized, and others are omitted. Thus one should not conclude that all of the North Carolina Whigs were deeply attached to the Union or that secession was entirely the work of the Democracy. As a matter of fact in the legislative debates over slavery extension in the session of 1850, a set of radical states' rights resolutions was introduced by a prominent Whig and conservative Democrats and Whigs co-operated in their defeat. Moreover, the defection of Clingman, who leaned toward secession, is not mentioned. Division within the party over the slavery issue which is not mentioned, as well as the manhood suffrage issue raised by the Democrats, which is related, was a cause of the decline of whiggery in North Carolina. Nor is the record of Whig leadership from its revival in the election of 1862 complete. It is rather singular that a considerable number of former Whigs drifted into the peace movement. Among these was Worth, the treasurer of the state, who wrote resolutions for local meetings in the interest of peace. (See *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, vol. I., *passim*.) The management of the state finances during the war was not in all respects wise and conservative. As the writer points out, the actual bond and note issues were not so great as were authorized, but there is no mention of the unwise management of the securities of the Literary Fund and the Sinking Fund. Likewise, the financial policy from the close of the war to the opening of the radical régime is not clarified; some measures were the exchange of railway bonds for unproductive stock, the final wreckage of the Literary Fund, the abolition of the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and making local taxation for school purposes optional. These facts should warn us against considering the record of the North Carolina Whigs as one of efficiency or unity. Therefore, supposing that the Whig element should have gone over to the Republican party in 1867, as the author suggests, might there not have been considerable opposition to it?

With chapter V. interest veers to national, rather than local, politics. It gives an admirable analysis of military administration under the Reconstruction Acts. Other chapters on the Union League and the Freedmen's Bureau likewise visualize the reaction of national politics on local conditions. When however the theme again reverts to affairs primarily

local, the treatment is not so satisfactory. The details of extravagance and corruption are well marshalled, likewise the rise of the Ku Klux, Holden's use of force, and the resulting impeachment. But the frequent use of oral tradition as authoritative, the continual reliance on the leading conservative newspaper, whose editor was probably mentally deranged, and a warm sympathy with the struggle for redemption from radical misrule, leave the impression that mercy is never offered the reconstructionists and that in some cases extenuating circumstances are not duly considered. A distinct contribution to knowledge of the period after 1868 is the revelation of the cleavage within the Republican party and the use of federal patronage especially in the elections of 1872.

A singular omission among the sources for the period is the Johnson manuscripts in the Library of Congress, which are illuminating for affairs in North Carolina from 1865 to 1867. There is no bibliography and the map is misleading with respect to railway lines in operation in 1865. The style is superior to that of the average work of its class, riveting attention to matters of minor as well as of major importance.

WM. K. BOYD.

*The Anthracite Coal Combination in the United States: with some Account of the Early Development of the Anthracite Industry.*  
By ELIOT JONES, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics, State University of Iowa. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XI.]  
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1914. Pp. xiii, 261.)

Is there an anthracite coal "combination"? In his selection of a title for his book, Dr. Jones assumes that there is; and in his preface he says: "This combination controlling the anthracite coal trade is found to be a combination of railroads, owning either directly, or indirectly through subsidiary coal companies, substantially the entire area of the anthracite coal deposits of the United States."

This charge of "a *general combination* to control the anthracite coal industry", said the Supreme Court, deciding the government's anti-trust suit against the Reading Company and other anthracite railroads, is "the theory upon which the bill is framed and upon which the case has been presented" (*United States v. Reading Company*, 226 U. S. 324, 343, 1912). The Supreme Court in this case held that this charge was not established. Absence of "*documentary* evidence of solidarity", which Dr. Jones implies was the determining fact, was really only one of the considerations. "We have gone through the record", said the Supreme Court (*ibid.*, p. 346). "The acts and transactions which the bill avers to have been committed by some of the defendants in furtherance of the illegal plan and scheme of a general combination" (*ibid.*, p. 371) and which, the Supreme Court decided, did not establish any such *general combination*, are variously characterized by Dr. Jones

as "persistent efforts . . . to restrict or eliminate competition" and as "the development of an effective combination". This was the view which the government had urged upon the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, however, held otherwise. "The accomplishment of these several subordinate transactions", said the Supreme Court, "only completed one or another of the several groups of carriers and coal-producing companies, which several groups were thereafter not only possessed of the power to compete with every other group, but, as we have already seen, were actually engaged in competing, one with another, prior to the general combination through the Temple Iron Company and the sixty-five per cent. contract scheme" (*ibid.*, p. 372). To similar purpose were the remarks of the court on the agreement of 1896, on the absorption of the New York, Susquehanna, and Western Railroad by the Erie, and on the acquisition of the Central Railroad of New Jersey by the Reading Company.

The only transactions which the Supreme Court found to support the charge of a *general combination* were the Temple Iron Company acquisitions and the sixty-five per cent. contracts. Dr. Jones's discussion of these is excellent. With the sale of the Temple Iron Company's property, however, and the cancellation of the sixty-five per cent. contracts, pursuant to the decree of the court, there remained, according to the Supreme Court, no general combination controlling the anthracite coal trade, such as Dr. Jones assumes; but, at the worst, only "several groups of carriers and coal-producing companies", each of which may or may not offend against the Sherman Act—the Supreme Court expressly left this point undecided—but which were all independent of each other and "were not steps or acts in furtherance of any general scheme" and were "not only possessed of the power to compete with every other group, but . . . were actually engaged in competing, one with another". These independent "groups of carriers and coal-producing companies" all apparently resumed this status after the sale of the Temple Iron Company's property and the cancellation of the sixty-five per cent. contracts.

The problem, therefore, is not that of a "combination controlling the anthracite coal trade"; nor is the government endeavoring, as Dr. Jones concludes, "to effect the dissolution of the anthracite coal combination". The problem is the relation of carrier, coal-producing company, and coal-selling company within each of several independent groups; and the government is now endeavoring, so far as possible, to disintegrate still further each group and each party in each group. Very scantily Dr. Jones has indicated the practical economic grounds on which the separate groups are now resisting further disintegration. That these grounds are substantial appears from the fact that upon them the government has lost every case thus far tried (*United States v. Delaware L. and W. R. Co.*, 213 Fed. 240, D. C. N. J., 1914; *United States v. Lehigh Valley Railroad Company*, D. C. S. D. N. Y., 1915, not yet reported),

That these grounds are less technical and more practical, and that the parties in these separate groups are acting in better faith than Dr. Jones thinks, is clear from the reasoning of all the decisions thus far rendered in these latest government suits.

GILBERT HOLLAND MONTAGUE.

### MINOR NOTICES

*La Confederazione Achea.* Per Giovanni Niccolini. [Biblioteca degli Studi Storici, I.] (Pavia, Mattei e Compagnia, 1914, pp. xii, 348.) Niccolini's *La Confederazione Achea*, a recent contribution to the study of the Hellenistic period of Greek history, had been foreshadowed by a series of monographs appearing since 1908 in the *Studi Storici per la Antichità Classica*, which have to a certain degree laid the foundations for this present work.

In his introduction the author justifies his choice of the word "confederacy" rather than "league" on the ground that the former implies an alliance creating a new political organism, with its own magistrates and assemblies, and more closely corresponds to the Polybian *συνπολιτεία*, whereas the latter more accurately translates *συνμαχία*. The introduction likewise contains a brief critical estimate of the sources for the history of the Confederacy, with special attention to the chief authority, Polybius. The political history of the Achaians from 280 to 146 B. C. is traced in the five opening chapters, throughout which special stress is laid upon Achaio-Macedonian and Achaio-Roman relations. Due prominence is given to the careers of Aratus and Philopoemen. It was the former who brought Sicyon into the Confederacy (251), thereby changing the character of the union and giving it the first impetus to expansion beyond the ethnic unity of the Achaians. To Aratus also, whom Niccolini holds to have been poisoned by Philip V. in 213, is given the credit for having founded the greatness of the Confederacy and indicated how it should be preserved. Philopoemen strove to repair the military weakness of the Achaians, remove the special privileges of cities, break up the larger states into smaller units, and maintain a dignified attitude towards Rome. With an almost Thucydidean concentration on purely political activities, Niccolini attempts no moral judgments, considering results more essential than means, and thus fails to give as complete a characterization of Aratus as appears, *e. g.* in Tarn's *Antigonos Gonatas*, a book which, although of importance for Achaio-Macedonian history from 280 to 240, he ignores. The sixth chapter deals with the federal constitution and the organs of the central authority, the finances and military organization, as well as the rights of the individual communities within the Confederacy. The concluding chapter is devoted to a study of the chronology from 280 to 146, determining the relation of the Achaian to the Olympic year in Polybius and, as far as possible, the dates of the Achaian *strategoi*, of whom a tabu-

lar list is added. Considerable space is occupied here with a discussion of the date of the battle of Sellasia (221), the death of Philopoemen (182), and the events of 146 B. C.

In an appendix, "La Grecia Provincia", the view is sustained that Greece was not made a province in 146, and its political status is followed down to the time of Augustus. An index of proper names closes the book. There is no bibliography, but the foot-notes show a thorough acquaintance with the modern literature in this field. Although Niccolini throughout has to traverse ground already covered by Freeman, Beloch, Niese, or Swoboda, nowhere does he depend solely upon secondary sources but at all times displays independence of judgment and critical ability.

A. E. R. BOAK.

*The Life of Saint Severinus by Eugippius.* Translated into English for the first time with Notes by George W. Robinson. [Harvard Translations.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. 141.) It is to be regretted that there is no large series of English translations of medieval sources similar to the German *Geschichtschreiber*. Such a collection would be of the greatest service to teachers and all general readers who do not use the originals. Robinson's *Life of Saint Severinus by Eugippius* is an excellent example of a type of scholarly work which, if attempted by other students of the Middle Ages, would do much to increase the popularity of their field.

The interesting biography of Eugippius, which presents such a vivid description of the life in a Roman province as it was being overrun by barbarians, is put into most readable English. The translation is accurate and preserves the spirit of the original. A brief preface contains references to secondary works for the aid of the reader. The appendix contains a list of the editions and translations of this source, a Latin hymn in praise of the saint, and a chronological table. It is a matter for regret that the translator did not include an introduction. The foot-notes reveal careful study, but fail to give much information of an explanatory character which would have been extremely useful to the English reader.

In general the translation has profited by being literal. *Noricum ripense* very happily becomes "Riverside Noricum". In a few cases the translation adheres too closely to the original. *Per ducenta ferme milia* is rightly "for about two hundred miles" (p. 82) but Rodenburg thinks this distance too great and reduces it to twelve miles (*Geschichtschreiber*, IV. 57, note 1). "Wherefore aid thyself rather than the poor from those things which thou yet thinkest to keep, while Christ hungers" (p. 34) preserves the obscurity of the original Latin.

In conclusion, it may be said that the translation is entirely reliable and deserving of confidence. Mr. Robinson has set an excellent standard for translators.

FREDERIC DUNCALF.



*Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien.* Von Harry Bresslau. Zweiter Band, Zweite Auflage. (Leipzig, Veit und Comp., 1915, pp. x, 392.) The new edition of Bresslau's *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* (see this REVIEW, XVIII. 158) plans to devote two volumes to the subjects covered in the single volume of the original edition. The second installment, forming the first part of volume II., comprises chapters X.-XV., treating of the language of medieval documents and the various preliminaries and stages through which they reached their final form. This part of the manual shows the qualities of wide learning, sound judgment, and broad historical outlook which characterize all the author's work and show him to be always an historian as well as a specialist in diplomatics. The progress of investigation compels fuller treatment of many questions, such as the petitions of the papal chancery and the problems connected with the relation of draft to final form; indeed the process of revision has increased the bulk of the work by one-half. Some of the topics, such as the history of formularies and the use of Latin and the vernacular in charters, are of more than technical interest. We miss a discussion of the formularies of the papal penitentiary, respecting which our information is in many respects more satisfactory than in the case of the formularies of the chancery, the earliest of them being accessible in print in the *Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary* edited by the late Henry C. Lea in 1892. As this was probably composed by the well-known Thomas of Capua, it should be connected with his *Summa dictaminis* and grouped chronologically with the earliest formulary of petitions (1226-1227), which Bresslau duly mentions, and the extensive "Forme Romane curie super beneficiis et questionibus", likewise of the period of Gregory IX., which precedes the formulary of the penitentiary in Lea's manuscript and still awaits study.

The remaining portion of the text will, the author hopes, begin printing "as soon as peace is restored". So doth diplomatics still wait upon diplomacy!

C. H. H.

*Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.* Edited by F. E. Harmer, B.A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1914, pp. x, 142.) Miss Harmer's book belongs to an important series of studies that have been inspired and in part directed by Professor H. Munro Chadwick of Cambridge University, whose interest appears to lie in the borderland between philology and history. Except for a few documents included in Napier and Stevenson's *Crawford Collection of Charters* there is no satisfactory edition of the Old English "land books". Miss Harmer has undertaken to edit a small number of selected charters and has chosen twenty-three documents all of which are in the Anglo-Saxon language. The greater number are land charters, but the editor has also included wills, one manumission, and "dedicatory inscriptions" from two manuscript copies of the Gospels. Miss Har-

mer has attempted to do three things: to give accurate texts; to provide English translations; and to prepare a body of critical notes. She has added an appendix in which she discusses differences in dialect and has prepared a very satisfactory index of persons, places, and objects. A comparison of Miss Harmer's texts with those of earlier editions shows that she has been able to obtain far more accurate versions than those of Kemble or Birch. But to students of history the most important part of her work is her notes, in which she clears up a number of disputed points, though many still remain in the field of conjecture. She has also corrected a number of errors in the dates assigned to these documents by earlier editors. In a prefatory note Professor Chadwick pronounces all the documents genuine with one possible exception; one is therefore surprised to find that the editor has failed to indicate that this may be a forgery but discusses it as if its genuineness were beyond dispute.

L. M. L.

*Bartolus on the Conflict of Laws.* Translated into English by Joseph Henry Beale, Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, Oxford, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. 86.) This book is commemorative of the six-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Bartolus, one of the most famous of the many great Italian lawyers of the Middle Ages, and the first writer to put in a standard and authoritative form the doctrines of the Conflict of Laws. Bartolus does not use this expression as a title, nor does his treatment of the subject constitute a treatise in itself, strictly speaking. One portion (*De Summa Trinitati*) of his lengthy Commentary on the Code is devoted to a consideration of the opposing legal customs in the different Italian city states. In this is discussed the extent to which laws have effect in cases touching events or things outside the territory of the individual state, and the law properly applicable to particular cases involving foreigners or the property of foreigners. It is this part of the text of Bartolus which, with the omission of a few sections, Professor Beale has translated.

No attempt has been made to preserve either the rather complicated form or the technical language of the original. Indeed, the translation is singularly free from technical expressions, which is certainly a point in its favor even though it "has purposely been made freely, with the hope of making the work in this way clearer to American lawyers". The frequent references to the Code, Digest, and *Speculum Juris* which occur in the body of the Latin text, in the translation appear, with some omissions, in a simplified form as foot-notes, the passages themselves being extended and translated and put in an appendix. This has been done for the purpose of distinctly separating the work of Bartolus from that of his predecessors. Short biographical notices of those earlier lawyers whose opinions Bartolus expressly cites are to be found in the foot-notes. A bibliography of the printed Commentary on the Code

is given in the introduction. The book is strictly what it professes to be, a translation, and does not go beyond that.

G. E. W.

*The Financing of the Hundred Years' War, 1337-1360.* By Schuyler B. Terry. [London School of Economics, Studies in Economics and Political Science, no. 35.] (London, the School, 1914, pp. xx, 197). Dr. Terry has undertaken the difficult task of unravelling the tangled history of the financial transactions of the English government during the early years of the Hundred Years' War. He has traced in detail the loans made by foreign and domestic merchants, Italian, Hanse, Flemish, and English, and has described the alternating periods of financial strength and weakness of these groups. He has also brought together much information concerning the value of the wool-trade as a source of revenue.

Unfortunately, errors due to hasty proof-reading and errors of fact are all too frequent. On page 24 the following were found. The Bardi were not given on June 9 "a small assignment of £410 on Nottingham", for in the writ referred to it is stated that they had been paid that sum by certain collectors of the tenth and fifteenth granted by the Parliament meeting at Nottingham. The loans amounted to £12,205 17s. 5d., not to £12,305 7s. 10d. "Some London merchants" should read, "a London merchant". The order of June 26 had reference to all the tin of Cornwall and Devon in the hands of certain royal commissioners and not to "all the tin in Cornwall". It is hardly correct to state that the king "issued orders for the investigation of a silver mine in Ireland", since the order was issued to the treasurer of Ireland to provide "wages . . . and other things necessary" for certain miners and others who were being sent to seek for silver mines and to make money there. The king leased lands to William de la Pole for ten, not sixteen years, and his payment was hardly a loan. Similar errors appear throughout chapter II., which was examined in detail, and were found on isolated pages elsewhere selected at random.

Throughout the study there appears a lack of knowledge of the significance of the entries upon the receipt rolls. The statements of the income of the crown (*e. g.*, pp. 141-142, 158-159, 164, 182-183) are based upon the erroneous idea that these rolls contain an accurate description of the royal income during any one year. Owing to the use of tallies of assignment they do not give such information. The term *mutuum* is treated as though it always refers to actual loans, whereas it frequently refers to fictitious loans, the latter being a device of the period used to avoid undue complication of bookkeeping. (See, on these matters, Society of Antiquaries, London, *Archæologia*, LXII. 367 ff., and *Proceedings*, second series, XXV. 29 ff.) Compilations of statistics based upon such erroneous readings of the records have little value.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

*Archivo General de Simancas: Catálogo IV., Secretaría de Estado (Capitulaciones con Francia y Negociaciones Diplomáticas de los Embajadores de España en aquella Corte, seguido de una Serie Cronológica de éstos).* Por Julián Paz, Jefe del Archivo General de Simancas. L., 1265-1714. (Madrid, Junta para Ampliación de Estudios é Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1914, pp. xii, 902.) In accordance with the decree of February 2, 1810, designed to centralize in Paris the archives of the various states allied with or subjected to the French Empire, the archives of Simancas were, in October, 1810, started on their journey across the Pyrenees. In 1816 the greater part of them made the return journey, but by some chance there remained in Paris the legajos of diplomatic correspondence with France for 1265-1714, and despite frequent representations on the part of the Spanish government these are to this day in the Hôtel Soubise, where as part of the Archives Nationales they are catalogued as *K, 1385-1711*, although popularly known as the Archives de Simancas. Until the present volume the principal printed description of this material was the six-column inventory—if it may be called that—of the *État Sommaire*. It is therefore a very real service that Señor Paz has been able to render as a result of his four years' mission in Paris at the behest of the Centro de Estudios Históricos. The plan and scope of the catalogue are, it would seem, the best calculated to serve the largest number of interests. A complete calendar of the documents would have involved the publication of many volumes. In the present work the carton is treated as the unit and its contents are described in one or (generally) more pages. The arrangement of the material, which covers mainly the years 1400-1700, is as follows: 1. Treaties and negotiations. 2. Despatches and instructions of the kings of Spain to their ambassadors in France. 3. Opinions of the Council of State on the correspondence of the ambassadors and agents in France. 4. Despatches from the ambassadors of Spain in France. 5. Aragon and Franche-Comté. 6. Miscellaneous. By way of an appendix is added about one hundred pages of notices on the Spanish ambassadors, and the indexes, one of persons, one of geographical names, one of subjects, and a chronological index—all very complete.

*Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk.* Door P. J. Blok. Tweede Druk. Tweede Deel. (Leiden, Sijthoff, 1914, pp. 694.) This second volume of the second edition of Professor Blok's standard work takes the place of the third and fourth volumes of the original edition, published in 1896 and in 1899 respectively. It runs from the departure of Philip II. in 1559 and the regency of Margaret of Parma to the death of Prince Frederick Henry in 1648 and the treaties of Westphalia; its period is thus the most interesting and important part of Dutch history, that of the Eighty Years' War and the stadholderates of William the Silent and his two sons. Since the corresponding parts of the first

edition were published, Professor Pirenne has published the fourth volume of his masterly *Histoire de Belgique*, Marx's *Studien zur Geschichte des Niederländischen Aufstandes* and Rachfahl's *Wilhelm von Oranien* have appeared, and a multitude of monographs and articles, Dutch, Belgian, and German, on the political, military, diplomatic, religious, economic, and social history of this brilliant period in the life of the Netherlands. These Professor Blok has utilized to the full in the revision of his text, carried out in the most painstaking manner, and leaving it by far the chief history of his nation.

*Willem Usselinx*. Door Catharina Ligtenberg. (Utrecht, A. Oosthoek, 1914, pp. 237, cxxxiii.) Willem Usselinx, though an interesting character, and invested with a certain additional interest for readers of American history by reason of having been the founder of the Dutch and of the Swedish West India Company, was not a figure of the first importance, and Dr. Jameson's elaborate biography published in 1887 sufficed for American readers. But that was twenty-eight years ago, and in the meantime several important Dutch and other monographs on the commercial history of that period have appeared, such as Bothe's *Gustav Adolfs und seines Kanzlers Wirthschaftspolitische Absichten auf Deutschland*, van Brakel's *Hollandsche Handelscompagnieën*, Lannoy and Vander Linden's *Expansion Coloniale*, vol. II., and Dr. Amandus Johnson's *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*. A young Dutchwoman, candidate for the doctor's degree at Utrecht, might very well think there was use, for Dutch readers, of a new biography. She has used the same material as Dr. Jameson, printed and manuscript, from Dutch and Swedish archives, and not much more. She has a better grasp of the economic aspects of her subject, but otherwise the story is necessarily much the same. Students in either country will thank her for her appendix. Van Rees having printed, in the appendix to volume II. of his *Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde*, several of the principal memorials of Usselinx to the States General preserved in the Dutch archives, she prints in hers, from the Swedish archives, nearly thirty letters of Usselinx to the Chancellor Oxenstjerna; also two late memorials of 1645 to the States General. There is a portrait of Usselinx, from the painting discovered about 1890, and a facsimile of a page from one of his memorials.

*The English Factories in India, 1646-1650: a Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster*. By William Foster, C. I. E. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914, pp. xxxii, 362.) The admirable quality of this series both as to content and editorial supervision has already received notice in previous issues of this REVIEW. This eighth volume is no exception; and derives special value because the original documents drawn from the Bombay Record Office, which were calendared for this volume, were lost at sea on the return voyage to India. Fortunately however a

verbatim transcript had been made in England, so the loss was not entire. In addition to this material the volume contains documents in the India Office Archives drawn from the Original Correspondence series, the Factory or Marine series, and the Letter-Books.

On the whole the chief subjects treated in this period do not show any very novel or distinctive features as compared with those treated and previously noted for other periods. But the emphasis shifts somewhat. Thus the English rivalry with the Dutch enters on another stage with the peace of Münster in 1648. This treaty won from Spain a final recognition of Dutch claims to freedom of trade in the East; and renewed activity by the Dutch caused the English some anxiety. But in 1649 the English wished to avoid a "personall warr with the Dutch, for which wee have neither warrant from the Company nor meanes to maintaine it with any reputacion to our nation or safety to their estates" (p. 236). A second matter is the endeavor of the English to develop the trade with Burma, particularly in Pegu and Ava. This attempt emphasizes again the continued importance of trade between Asiatic ports carried on by the English in competition not only with other Europeans but also with natives. On the whole, in spite of the usual and frequent complaints as to hardships and "miserie", internal conditions were by no means as difficult as in previous years. One reason undoubtedly was the profitable character of this local commerce. This was fortunate, for, in view of the state of affairs in England, the amount of capital available from home was not great or constant. Still matters were better than during the height of the Civil War. Events in England receive small comment; but the news of the execution of Charles I. aroused the fear lest by Indian princes "it wilbe deem'd so haynos a matter of such high nature (they not knowinge more then that our King is kild) that they will not only accompt of us your servants and nacion contemptable unworthy people, but retract" (p. 269) some of the English trading privileges. Indeed, though disorder in India was endemic, the contrast with troubled England "would not be unreservedly in favour of England" (p. vi). Above all in this volume the great variety of economic interests involved and the steady way in which they were continuing and developing give in unsensational but sturdy form the evidence of an increasingly firm foundation for English influence and ambition.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

*British Radicalism, 1791-1797.* By Walter Phelps Hall. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. XLIX., no. 1, whole no. 122.] (New York, Columbia University, 1912, pp. 262.) Dr. Hall tells us in his preface that his original purpose was to "describe the political organization of radicalism", but, finding "organized radicalism . . . inconsequential and abortive", he concluded to give his chief attention to



"an analysis of radical theory". He divided his monograph into two sections, entitled respectively, *Radicalism in Theory* and *Radicalism in Practice*. In the first section he asserts that "radicalism was born in October, 1790", that being the date of the publication of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Burke's pamphlet, in the opinion of Dr. Hall, became the "hammer and anvil" by which the radicalism of the future was wrought out; the older radicalism "became suddenly a side issue" (p. 46). From this starting point Dr. Hall proceeds first to summarize the views of Burke, Hannah More, and Reeves, the exponents of conservatism, and then in turn of Price, Priestley, Tooke, and Cartwright, whom he terms "the older radicals", and finally of Wollstonecraft, Paine, Mackintosh, Bentham, Godwin, Spence, Gerrald, Frend, Barlow, and Thelwall, whom he regards as the real exponents of the radicalism of that period. In the second section of the monograph the author gives an account of the origin and character of the various societies organized in that period to promote reform and of the so-called British Convention, concluding with a description of the measures adopted by the government to suppress the activities of these organizations. As regards this last subject, Dr. Hall concludes that the government had good grounds for its action, since a considerable element among the reformers meditated radical changes in the existing social order even at the cost of an "armed insurrection".

There is space here to mention only two of many criticisms to which Dr. Hall's monograph is liable. He leaves the impression that radicalism in England had a far more sudden birth than a perusal of the works of earlier political writers would probably convince him that it had. And there could be little stronger evidence of the fact that there was no considerable party among the English reformers of the period he has studied who meditated insurrection than the paucity of the testimony which Dr. Hall offers in support of the opposite contention.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

*The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders, R. N.* By Ernest Scott, Professor of History in the University of Melbourne. (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1914, pp. xviii, 492.) This book is undoubtedly a useful contribution to the history of the maritime exploration of Australasia. Captain Flinders entered the British navy in 1789 and died in 1814. His only experience of warfare was in 1794 in the battle off Brest; and he was a prisoner of the French during the long years 1803-1810 at the Île de France. His services as a discoverer which stimulated the writing of this book are therefore confined to about a dozen years, a period recorded in a little more than half the book. As an addition to the general history of such an important age or as an inspiring biography of an intrepid explorer the book leaves us cold; and to a certain degree it lacks both balance and skillful background though there is at times considerable digression.

But the author has searched records both printed and manuscript and observes an admirable technique. The illustrations are interesting and the maps of Flinders's voyages are indispensable. In the appendixes are an excellent bibliography and a long list of names given by Flinders to important Australian coastal features, which in itself is evidence of his great work. Furthermore are two documents of French origin: one is Baudin's account of the meeting of the French and English exploring expeditions in 1802, and the second is the lengthy report of Port Jackson of Péron, the French spy, to General Decaen at the Île de France. In this connection Professor Scott rejects for lack of evidence the idea that Napoleon was concerned with schemes for French expansion in Australia. However, one can gain more or less accurate information as to the condition of English interests from the French sources rather than from the compressed maritime data of the English officers. For as a whole the records and life of Flinders are surprisingly lacking in information as to both native and colonial life. He was a sailor who stuck close to his ship, and for this reason the book has comparatively small value for the history of early English settlement.

On the other hand stand the positive results achieved at great risk. For in 1791-1793 in the South Pacific under Bligh, young Flinders fed his growing passion to visit the blank spaces on the map. Between 1795 and 1800 came the exploration of Bass Strait and the more detailed cruises along the shores of New South Wales and Queensland, to be followed by the circumnavigation of Tasmania. These adventurous endeavors were but preliminary to the greater voyages along the southern coast of Australia and finally the circumnavigation of the island continent by 1803. Fortunately Flinders was an author as well as a sailor and his own record of this voyage was published in 1814. It is rare that the first man to know the confines of a region should also have the chance to give its enduring name, for Australia comes from Flinders's insistent adoption; and with the centennial of his death numerous local memorials of his work have been set up to perpetuate his name and work.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

*The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas.* By Arthur Cushman McGiffert. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. x, 315.) The scope of Dr. McGiffert's account of the rise of distinctively modern religious ideas is fixed by the plan of the series which it initiates (*Works on Modern Theology*, general editor, J. M. Whiton, Ph.D.). It is not intended as an adequate history of the modern movement of thought but as a summary statement of the influences promoting such a movement. After a preliminary account of the disintegration of Protestant scholastic theology by the influence of Pietism, Rationalism, Natural Science, and the Critical Philosophy, the work explains the more recent reconstruction of theology by the aid of modern philosophical and historical conceptions. This undertaking is happily accomplished by an author who can give con-

cise and lucid expression to the thought of eminent thinkers and can clearly define the manner in which new currents of thought transform the theological inheritance. Certain chapters are of especial value in defining and discriminating important conceptions (Divine Immanence, Ethical Theism) and the excellent chapter on the Rehabilitation of Faith gives just consideration to Jacobi, Fries, DeWette, thinkers now after long neglect restored to our attention.

Given the enforced brevity of these neat elucidations, one may commend their clearness and accuracy. Possibly there is here and there a too sharp formulation of ideas in the case of thinkers who had not achieved a perfect consistency. It is, for example, not quite safe to say that for Martineau God was immanent in nature but not in man. There is, in fact, opportunity for a critical examination of Martineau's utterances to bring his thought on this matter to a more exact form, as, in general, for the production of a real history of the modern movement a prior work of detailed specialized investigation is needed.

This comment may be applied in particular to the chapter on the modern movement for a practical Christianizing of the social order in place of the old complacent almsgiving as a source of merit for the individual seeking to earn his reward. After considering the birth of humanitarian enthusiasm at the end of the eighteenth century, Dr. McGiffert passes to the propaganda of Owen, St. Simon, Fourier, the English Christian Socialists, and the influence of Marx. Such a brief outline leaves an erroneous impression as to the sources and personal leaders of the new social spirit within the religious body. An adequate account would emphasize very different personalities, the Wilberforce circle in England, the current symbolized by Wichern and von Bodelschwingh in Germany, and Channing in America. These are names that indicate an inner movement within the religious sphere acting by the spontaneity of religious motive and not simply yielding to the foreign pressure of economic theories.

Dr. McGiffert's exposition fails to give due recognition to the part of America in adopting, expressing, enforcing these modern religious ideas of transforming effect. Channing, Emerson, Parker, Father Hecker are names not to be left in the shadow of Europe. These were men who influenced the world abroad as well as at home—only they do not figure in the pattern German accounts which are apt to reduce the vogue and social activity of ideas to the rise and fall of university dignitaries.

But a sufficient spiritual history of the time since Lessing is a task of the future and Dr. McGiffert's work is an excellent and stimulating pledge of it.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

*Treitschke: his Doctrine of German Destiny and of International Relations: together with a Study of his Life and Work.* By Adolf Hausrath. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914, pp. xi, 332.)

Professor Hausrath's allusive essay on his intimate friend's life is really a series of personal reminiscences and reflections and not at all a biography. The author has given—and this is the chief value of the essay—only what he knew from personal experience. We have, therefore, nothing of Treitschke's life before the Freiburg period, and relatively little about the all-important Berlin period. The essay is also valuable because of the numerous details regarding many minor German reformers, and concerning the political and publicistic activities of German professors in general. The essays of Treitschke translated include those on the army, international law, German colonization, Germany and neutral states, Austria and the German Empire, the alliance between Russia and Prussia, and freedom. Unfortunately, they are not the best-known essays, those most important for historians, nor those most characteristic. They seem to have been selected with a view to the interest of the general public in current issues. It is perhaps as well, for the translation is villainously bad. Not only is it partially ungrammatical, but it seems to be the work of some German with a very inadequate knowledge of English idiom. Some of the sentences are unintelligible, and in many cases it is evident that the meaning of the passage has escaped the translator, who has rendered the words without understanding what they meant. Quotation marks are omitted; titles of books are translated as if part of the text; some titles are translated several times in different ways, all of them wrong. The book is the result of haste and misdirected enterprise.

ROLAND G. USHER.

*Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches.* Edited by Charles W. Boyd, with an Introduction by the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P. In two volumes. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914, pp. xxiii, 372; viii, 393.) Doubtless one of the most effective factors in Mr. Chamberlain's power as a political leader was the self-confident finality with which he treated all subjects of practical importance. Moreover, only practical issues interested him. Speculative problems and those requiring balanced treatment were beyond the pale. These qualities, so serviceable for the leadership of the popular elements to which he chiefly appealed, are abundantly evident in these two volumes of speeches. Among other anomalies in Mr. Chamberlain's career, this attitude accounts for the singular conviction, indicated in so many of his speeches, that notwithstanding the many changes of front which, in the course of his career, had carried him from extreme radicalism to high toryism, he had maintained a substantially unaltered political creed. Under this conviction, apparently held with considerable sincerity, he seemed to see Radicals like Roebuck lose the spirit of progress and become reactionaries; and Liberals with whom he had long associated, become typical Tories stolidly protecting their vested interests. But, strangest of all, he sees the bitterest of his former enemies, the land-monopolizing, food-taxing Tory peers, who had trembled with

mingled fear and indignation at his "doctrine of ransom", becoming true Liberals and even philanthropic Radicals, and thus brought into harmony with himself, who, alone of all English political leaders, had remained true to the standards of his youth. As the editor of the speeches puts it in essaying the somewhat difficult task of supporting his chief in these assumptions, "His development involved no change of principle" (I. xv).

The attitude of the editor indicates the basis on which the selection of speeches has been made, and the spirit in which the introductory and connecting comments have been framed. The very effort to minimize the striking contrasts, not to say flat contradictions, in Mr. Chamberlain's numerous changes of attitude, betrays at once the chief object in view and the difficulty of accomplishing it. For the ordinary reader, not particularly interested in the full significance of Mr. Chamberlain's unique career or in the ultimate fate of the problems dealt with, this is perhaps of minor importance. The collection certainly contains very fair samples of Mr. Chamberlain's method of appeal, line of argument, and style of oratory. It indicates also the wide range of his interests. Here we have samples of the appeals connected with his early and notably successful efforts at municipal reform in his native city of Birmingham. There are a few lighter touches connected with the celebrated "Caucus", that most thoroughgoing example of Tammany organization, but employed, originally at least, for purely beneficent objects. As President of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's cabinet, we find him an uncompromising free trader demonstrating that even moderate protection, tariff retaliation, and that chief iniquity of Tory land-monopolizing peers, the tax on food, would destroy the trade and impoverish the laborers of England. Yet later we find him as the leader of tariff reform and Tory imperialism, equally certain that without a protective system of tariff retaliation and taxes on food the trade and commerce of Britain are doomed, and the empire abandoned to destruction (II. 157). Naturally, home rule for Ireland and the South African War are duly represented. Nevertheless, the student who would understand the full sweep of Mr. Chamberlain's views must supplement the present collection with many other, and often more typical, samples of his speeches.

ADAM SHORTT.

*The Origins of the War.* By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D., Fellow of Christ's College and Reader in Modern History, University of Cambridge. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915, pp. 201.) This book is disappointing. Mr. J. Holland Rose is an historian of sufficiently established reputation for the reader to have a right to expect from his pen something much more serious and judicial than the mass of ordinary publications on the war with which we have been flooded for the last six months. What is more, Mr. Rose is on his own ground, for he has already done excellent work on the history of Europe during the

last forty years and has shown himself, if not an unprejudiced, at least a fair-minded judge of recent events. This time, however, he has given us a volume that will not add to his laurels. He can only fall back on the excuse of the patriotic excitement under which he has labored. He is not declamatory or abusive, and he knows much more about his topic than most of the writers who have dealt with it, but at bottom it is nothing but one more partizan appeal. Germany is the villain of the story; Great Britain the kindly, if thick-witted hero. To be sure Mr. Rose gives chapter and verse of some kind for most of his statements from a large range of authorities from Bismarck down to Armgaard Karl Graves, apparently not realizing that the mere fact of citing such a writer as the last named, shakes our confidence in his own judgment. We are told certain things were "probably" true. We learn that "an authority has informed me", and that on another occasion Mr. Rose was "informed by a diplomat", and later still and more specifically that a lady friend of his repeated to him indiscreet utterances gathered by her from the redoubtable General von Bernhardt at an Italian pension. He also attaches much weight to, and puts in an appendix, a melodramatic quotation from a newspaper article by the Special Commission of the *Transvaal Chronicle*, which describes the nefarious designs of the Germans in South Africa in the autumn of 1912. All things considered it does not seem worth while to enter here into a general discussion of Mr. Rose's views or to question the accuracy of his details. The book has been dashed off quickly under the sharp stress of recent events and his lapses are probably due to haste, as well as to lack of coolness. On his last page, feeling perhaps that he has been a little hard on the Germans, and wishing to show that he bears them no permanent ill-will, he makes a suggestion that will hardly be popular in the United States.

The fiat of mankind will, I hope, go forth that they shall acquire, if need be, parts of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and South Brazil. America will realize that the world cannot forever bow down to the Monroe Doctrine, especially as the United States have become a colonising Power, but that parts of South America may safely be thrown open to systematic colonisation by a nation like Germany.

*The Scotch-Irish in America.* By Henry Jones Ford, Professor of Politics, Princeton University. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, London, Oxford University Press, 1915, pp. viii, 607.) It is no great praise to say that Professor Ford's book is the best of the books upon its subject. Hanna's is in respect to facts an undigested farrago, and in respect to doctrine an uncritical paean. Bolton's rests on real study, but treats only a small portion of the field, and is greatly lacking in sequence of thought and orderliness of narration. Professor Ford seems to have made some thorough first-hand investigations into the history of the Plantation of Ulster and into some other portions of his large field, though he gives few references to original sources of information.



Moreover, though his book is not that of a man experienced in historical work, it is that of a skilled student of political science, who has a penetrating insight into Irish conditions, and that of a logical thinker, who can distinguish, for instance, between the direct origin of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and the incoming of the Presbyterian theory of church polity, or of the Puritan spirit, into our colonies. The book is clearly and well written, and covers in fair proportion the history of seventeenth-century Ulster (in which he somewhat exaggerates the Scottish element), that of the migrations to America, that of the Scotch-Irish settlements in Pennsylvania, New England, and elsewhere, that of the influence of Presbyterianism on education, and that of its influence on the Revolution. While Mr. Ford is far from that vice of "claiming everything" with which the Scotch-Irish Congresses have made us so familiar, there is surely some exaggeration in such dicta as the following, from his final chapter: "It was not until after the extensive infusion of Scotch-Irish blood that New England developed traits since regarded as characteristic" (p. 524); "This rapidity of national expansion [1775-1832] is a direct consequence of Scotch-Irish immigration and is unaccountable until that factor is considered" (p. 529); "The rapid rise of manufactures in the first part of the nineteenth century was a development prepared mainly through Scotch-Irish enterprise" (p. 530); and, "To this day the American school system has a Scottish stamp" (p. 533). The appendixes present, among other things, some pages from Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* and an ethnographical lecture on "The Making of the Ulster Scot", by Professor James Heron of Belfast. A map of Ulster would have been a useful addition.

*Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60-1693.* Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, Virginia, 1914, pp. lxxii, 529.) In 1680, under orders from the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, the practice began of sending journals of the House of Burgesses to England, where the series is preserved in the Public Record Office. With that year begins therefore a new era in the history of those journals. The journals of previous sessions were evidently composed with less care, and also but very few of them have been preserved. It would have been distinctly better if Dr. McIlwaine had begun this his twelfth volume with this year, 1680. The materials for the preceding twenty years, filling the first 118 pages of his text, are of a character quite different from that of his regular series of journals, but entirely like what he will have to use for the period from 1619 to 1659, so that a volume for 1619-1679 would have been homogeneous. He has still further impaired the uniformity of the present volume by omitting all prefaces to the 1659-1679 matter, while the prefaces relative to the sessions from 1680 to 1693 have the character which previous volumes have led us to expect.

Most of the period from 1659 to 1679 is occupied by Berkeley's long-

lived General Assembly of 1661-1676, corresponding to the Cavalier Parliament in England. For the sessions of these twenty years we have only three or four sporadic journals, the sets of orders passed at nearly a score of other sessions, and a miscellaneous aggregation of other legislative documents, not pretending to completeness. Some of these materials come from Henning, but most are derived from the originals in the Public Record Office or the transcripts therefrom possessed by the commonwealth of Virginia. Those of 1677 are useful toward the understanding of Bacon's Rebellion.

Passing to the more satisfactory materials for the period 1680-1693, we note that resort has been had to the copies in the Public Record Office for the texts of all. Yet in 1891 the writer read in the Virginia State Library the original journal of the session of March, 1693. Has it since disappeared?

The period from 1680 to the end of 1693 (Culpeper, Chicheley, Howard of Effingham, Nicholson, Andros, governors or deputy-governors) is marked by eight assemblies and eleven sessions. For two sessions no journals are known; the editor supplies their places with analogous documents. Upon the history of the other sessions the journals cast a flood of light. Dr. McIlwaine much increases their value by his skillful and learned introductions. It is a pleasure to learn that, when one more volume has finished the journals of the Burgesses, he hopes to begin a similar series of journals of the Council; he has abundantly, earned and richly deserved the privilege.

*Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690.* Edited by Charles M. Andrews, Ph.D., L.H.D., Farnam Professor of American History, Yale University. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp. ix, 414.) This volume contains the narratives of five insurrections which took place in the English-American colonies between 1676 and 1689. Two of these uprisings broke out in the middle of the reign of Charles II., while the others were consequent upon the expulsion of James II. Professor Andrews shows that nevertheless they all were "manifestations of a general discontent in the larger English world and the result of fears which prevailed in England as well as America". This discontent was directed primarily against the system of government attempted by the Stuarts alike in England and the colonies. Except in New England, and certainly not even there during the last years of the Andros administration, there was no free government: "the royal or proprietary appointees controlled affairs and often compelled the popular assemblies to follow their lead".

Contrary to the opinions of Doyle and Fiske, Professor Andrews holds that there was no desire for separation from England. Nor was the commercial system a moving cause for discontent. It is true that the New Englanders complained of Randolph and the Albemarle people of Miller because of their attempts to collect the duties, but both Randolph and Miller were hated for other reasons, and in the narratives here

printed complaint against the navigation laws hardly figures. In fact Professor Beer has shown (*Old Colonial System*, II. 143) that in the two hundred articles of complaint, published by the sympathizers with Bacon, commercial restrictions are mentioned but three times. And with reason, for until 1696 the acts were very inadequately enforced.

A suggestive point brought out in these narratives is the mutual dependence of the colonies. Not that there was any idea of union, as has been suggested in the case of Bacon's Rebellion, but it is evident that the leaders of the insurrections were in communication with their sympathizers in other colonies. Attention is called to the large part played by the New England sea-captains in promoting this intercolonial sympathy.

Three accounts of Bacon's Rebellion are given: the narrative by Thomas Matthew, which is the one most frequently quoted; the report of the royal commissioners; and an anonymous account, probably contemporary. This last is the most interesting of the three, although extremely biassed against Bacon. The difficulties of the texts and the numerous allusions are made clear by excellent notes. It might have been helpful, however, even at the expense of some of the biographical material, to have printed some of the documents referred to.

Briefer accounts are given of the uprisings in North Carolina and Maryland, while three long narratives are given of Leisler's rebellion in New York. These last well illustrate Professor Andrews's point: that the insurrections were the result of discontent with the system of government—in New York complicated with party, class, and race dissensions—rather than that they were movements for independence or revolts against the commercial system. It is interesting to note that Professor Andrews has been unable to discover any trace of a commission to Ingoldsby which would have justified Leisler's surrender of the fort.

The expulsion of Andros is told in eight narratives. One of these, the letter of Captain George, of the *Rose*, to Pepys, has not hitherto been printed. In his discussion of the events Professor Andrews agrees with those who see in Andros not a tyrant, but an "imperious and impatient" administrator who enforced English law rather than colonial customs.

Taken together these sixteen narratives most satisfactorily describe the insurrections in the colonies, while the introductions and notes give the critical interpretations generally accepted by the most modern scholarship.

EVERETT KIMBALL.

*Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765.* By Clarence P. Gould, Ph.D., Mitchell O. Fischer Professor of History, University of Wooster. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXIII., no. 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1915, pp. 176.) This study is the second installment of what its author purposes to make "a complete economic history of Maryland" between

the years 1720 and 1765. The first, being a study of the land system, appeared in 1913; the third, to be a study of the agricultural system, is begun. By far the greater part of this, the second of the series, is devoted to an account of the uses of coins, bills of exchange, tobacco, and paper currency—the principal kinds of money in colonial Maryland. Coins—gold, silver, and copper—were scarce, and so many of them were clipped and cut that they circulated mostly by weight. Bills of exchange were used primarily in the trade with England, and many Maryland bills were procured by merchants of Philadelphia and New York for use in that trade. Tobacco, the money most in use, is shown to have been decidedly unfit for the purpose prior to the passage of the inspection act of 1747. Of the paper currency, Dr. Gould cautiously affirms that "it is hardly too much to say that this was the most successful paper money issued by any of the colonies". The concluding chapter contains an account of the roads, ferries, means of conveyance by land and water, public inns, and postal service.

Dr. Gould has gathered his material from many sources and found the Callister Manuscripts in the Maryland Diocesan Library especially helpful, but he seems to have used the large body of unpublished Calvert Papers only with a very imperfect calendar as a guide. With more careful proof-reading, he would not have allowed the transposition of lines on page 53.

N. D. M.

*Western North Carolina: a History (from 1730 to 1913).* By John Preston Arthur. [Published by the Edward Buncombe Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Asheville, N. C.] (Raleigh, N. C., Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1914, pp. 710.) The western portion of North Carolina, perhaps because of its geographical isolation, has been little studied by annalist and historian. In his *Historical Sketches* (1851) Wheeler employed the county as the unit of chapter division and gave ill-digested summaries of the chief events in the history of each county—a strange jumble of civil records, military incidents, and biographical sketches. As evidence of the need for a history of this section, may be cited the significant fact that separate histories in book form of only two of the counties studied by Mr. Arthur have as yet been printed (Haywood and Macon). This book is the pioneer in the study of North Carolina by geographical sections—a branch of study recently signalized by the appearance of Sprunt's *Cape Fear Chronicles* and Albertson's *In Ancient Albemarle*.

Mr. Arthur's chief claim to attention is due to the patient and intimate study of the people, their life, customs, and traditions, which this book abundantly exhibits. There are many errors in spelling and typography, and a few as to fact—such as placing the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1767 (p. 67), giving John B. as the name of one of the sons of Daniel and Rebecca (Bryan) Boone (p. 87), and omitting mention of Richard Henderson's visit to the Otari towns in company with Nathaniel Hart

in 1774 (p. 86). The author is trustworthy in the citation of sources; but he relies almost slavishly upon a few works from which he quotes frequently and at excessive length—McGee's little *History of Tennessee*, Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, Thwaites's *Daniel Boone*, Draper's *King's Mountain and its Heroes*. The brevity of the printed bibliography indicates the real deficiency in printed sources from which the book suffers. The bibliography is conspicuous for the omission of Summers's *Southwest Virginia*, Ashe's *North Carolina*, Haywood's *Tennessee*, Phelan's *Tennessee*, Putnam's *Middle Tennessee*, Smyth's *Tour*, and Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*; nor has the author enjoyed the benefit of Ashe's two essays on the State of Franklin (*North Carolina Review*), William Blount's "Vindication", and Battle's sketches of incorporated schools and academies (*Report of State Supt. of Public Institution, 1896-1897*). Just credit is due the author for his exhaustive personal rediscovery of the Boone Trail; and he has made adequate use of the hitherto unpublished diary of John Strother (*cf.* p. 38 *et seq.*). The chapter on "Roads, Stage Coaches, and Taverns" is very incomplete: forgotten trails are traced, while some of the most important printed sources with respect to early highways have not been examined.

Mr. Arthur has most painstakingly quarried out a great mass of materials, which remain for the most part uncut boulders. Such talent as he displays is accumulative rather than integrative. Facts of the most trivial character elbow concerns of grave political and social moment. While not deficient in insight into the character, the predilections, and the prejudices, of the "mountain people", the author has little sense of historical perspective. The western section is treated as isolate, self-contained—unrelated in any large way to North Carolina as a whole. The book is chiefly valuable as a work of ready reference; the contents of six hundred and fifty pages is easily mastered through the aid of the excellent fifty-page index.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

*The Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript.* With an Introduction by Clarence Walworth Alvord. (Chicago, privately printed by Cyrus H. McCormick, 1915, pp. 22, facsimile pp. 40.) The documents reproduced in facsimile in this volume relate to attempts of a group of land speculators to secure a grant of land on the Illinois and Wabash rivers in the years from 1772 to 1775. The four documents included are the opinion of Lords Camden and Yorke respecting the sovereignty of an Indian nation, the treaty with the Illinois Indians in 1773 in which land was granted to the Illinois Land Company, the treaty negotiated by Louis Viviat in 1775 with the Piankashaw and Wea tribes for land on the Wabash River, and the Articles of Agreement uniting the Illinois and Wabash companies. The facsimile is preceded by an introduction portraying the background, which enables the reader to understand the period with which the documents are associated. The first document,

and one of the most important, the opinion of Lords Camden and Yorke, was rendered in 1769 and was probably given at the instance of Samuel Wharton, the representative of a firm of Pennsylvania merchants who were seeking a grant of land from the government. Its significance lies in the assertion that individuals could purchase land directly from the Indian tribes and that titles thus secured would be considered valid by the English courts. The British government had hitherto taken the position, in the proclamation of 1763, that western expansion should be slow and only after Indian titles had been purchased by representatives of the crown. It was to take advantage of this opinion that the Illinois and Wabash companies sought to secure title to large tracts in the Illinois and Wabash countries. Their efforts were effectually checked, however, by the rigorous enforcement of the government's policy as outlined in the royal edict. The volume is a model from the standpoint of workmanship. The printing is well done and the reproduction of the documents is excellent. The scope of the work precluded bibliographical apparatus and critical notes.

*Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, with the Officers.* Prepared from the original manuscripts in the Library of Congress by John C. Fitzpatrick, Division of Manuscripts. Four volumes. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1915, pp. vi, 1-802, 803-1634, 1635-2460, 2461-2865.) In 1906 the Library of Congress issued a *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington with the Continental Congress*, in one volume, which included the correspondence of Washington with the President of Congress, with committees, and with individual members of Congress. The present calendar (which is No. 2 of the calendars of the Washington manuscripts and prepared by the same hand) is rather broader in scope than its title would indicate, for it includes not only Washington's correspondence with military and naval officers of every rank of the continental and state troops and with French auxiliaries, but also his correspondence with foreign ministers and agents and with British officers. On the other hand, his correspondence with the governors and civil authorities of the states (another important part of the Washington Papers) has not been included.

The basis of the calendar, which properly begins with Washington's assumption of command in June, 1775, and closes with his resignation of his commission in December, 1783 (a few papers of later date have been included for the sake of completeness), is the series of drafts of Washington's letters, although several other series of manuscripts have been drawn upon.

The plan of the calendar is the same as that of the previous volume and is sufficiently familiar to require no elucidation. One question concerning enclosures may, however, be raised: When a letter is an enclosure the calendar so records it, but it does not show what enclosures



any given letter contained. This information is often of importance and can be obtained only with difficulty, if at all, after the letter and its enclosures have been separated, inasmuch as the writers often give but uncertain clues to the enclosures. The location of printed texts is confined to Ford's and Sparks's editions of Washington's *Writings* and Sparks's *Letters to Washington*.

The index, which occupies the whole of volume IV. (pp. 2461-2865), is in large measure analytical, but it must be understood that any such compressed analysis is necessarily imperfect. It is helpful but not absolute. One feature of the index volume calls for especial commendation. A schedule of pages grouped in periods of six months, which is repeated at the foot of each two opposite pages of the index, enables the searcher to determine at a glance the approximate chronological place of any given reference.

Deficiencies in the execution of such a calendar as this can be discovered only after putting it to prolonged and manifold uses, but it may safely be presumed that these volumes will be found to have been done with the same accuracy and thoroughness that characterized Mr. Fitzpatrick's first calendar of the series. A small list of errata has been recorded in the last volume, but one typographical error which was overlooked may be a little puzzling if not confusing until the error shall be discovered. In the first paragraph on page v ("Sources and References") "Designation A" should be "Designation B".

*Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the Year 1913-1914*. Vol. VII. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the Torch Press, 1914, pp. 398.) The volume contains the proceedings of the association at the mid-year meeting held at Columbia, South Carolina, December 31, 1913, and at the seventh annual meeting held at Grand Forks, North Dakota, May 26-28, 1914, and also the papers read at the annual meeting. Those read at Columbia have been printed elsewhere. Of the twenty-seven papers printed in this volume only a few can be considered in this brief notice.

Professor James A. James, in a study of "Some Phases of the History of the Northwest, 1783-1786", presents effectively some of the salient features of western history during the three years following the establishment of peace, particularly the negotiations with the Indians, by which title to the West should be quieted, including a discussion of the British policy and attitude in regard to the Northwest, both before and after the peace.

In a paper upon a related theme, "American Opinions regarding the West, 1778-1783", Professor Paul C. Phillips discusses in an interesting manner personal and sectional attitudes toward the West, particularly as set forth in the reports of the French ministers to Vergennes. To be really adequate, of course, such a discussion should take account more largely of firsthand expressions, many of which are available. It

should be remarked that there was no delegate in Congress from Virginia named "Matthews". John Mathews of South Carolina is probably meant.

In a paper entitled "Stephen A. Douglas and the Split in the Democratic Party" Professor O. M. Dickerson offers a forceful argument in opposition to the somewhat stereotyped opinion that Lincoln by his adroit questions at Freeport forced Douglas into admissions that culminated in the split in the Democratic party.

Passing mention should be made of Mr. Logan Esarey's account of the organization of the Jacksonian party in Indiana, a valuable chapter in the history of Jacksonian politics; of Mr. Doane Robinson's account of the recent finding of a Verendrye plate at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, and discussion of the Verendrye explorations; of Mr. Warren Upham's paper on the explorations and surveys of the Minnesota and Red Rivers; and of Mr. Chester Martin's story of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly of the fur-trade at the Red River settlement, 1821-1850. Of especial interest is Professor Clarence W. Alvord's "Critical Analysis of the Work of Reuben Gold Thwaites".

*Life in America One Hundred Years Ago.* By Gaillard Hunt, Litt.D., LL.D. (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1914, pp. xi, 398.) The completion of one hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain quite naturally awakened interest in the conditions of life existing in America at the time of the treaty of Ghent. It is this event which accounts for the appearance of Dr. Hunt's sketch. The principal value of the volume is that its atmosphere is that of 1815, about which date it centres its diversified information. Its material is of the type made perfectly familiar for the colonial period by Mrs. Earle and many other writers; so that neither the plan of the study nor its resultant description of men, manners, or modes lays any claim to originality. In many ways the attractive volume of nearly three hundred pages is like a scrap-book. For it is filled with memoranda of much significance covering a wide variation in subjects. The arrangement of the material is more or less arbitrary.

Peace brought with it a new epoch with new men in charge of affairs and with a spirit of intense Americanism everywhere dominant. While Dr. Hunt notes the absence of national land-hunger in 1815 and indicates the presence of a quite sharply defined sectional feeling, he senses the accepted belief of the people occupying the eighteen states and four territories that the United States is bound to be a great nation.

In this new epoch the individual American had his life confined in rather narrow bounds. He travelled little, largely because there were no facilities or inducements for travel. He wrote few letters because of limited acquaintance and the expense of carriage of letters. If he had any education he acquired it in the institutions near his own home. Every feature of his life was such as might be expected under such nar-

rowing influences. These influences had their natural effect on his dress, his occupations, his reading, his religious views, and the breadth of his outlook upon the larger problems of human society.

Dr. Hunt has used to good advantage his gleanings during his long study of the political life of this period and so enriches his volume with many detailed descriptions of American characteristics so far as travel, education, costume, play, humor, superstition, philanthropy, and religion are concerned.

Apart from the notable simplicity of the life of the time the most marked characteristic of the people appears to be the intensity of their patriotic devotion to country. The faith in the future of the nation was attended by an attachment to the soil and by a fondness for the word American which is noted in almost every walk of life where there is any occasion for utilizing the word.

Dr. Hunt gives a valuable bibliographical section, in which suggestions for added material are grouped under the separate headings which he has followed in his narrative. The volume is a sprightly and readable one, admirably adapted to its special centennial purpose, and certain to make strong appeal to all interested in the development of a people's social life.

*The Scandinavian Element in the United States.* By Kendric Charles Babcock, Ph.D., Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Bulletin, vol. XII., no. 7.] (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1914, pp. 223.) The effect of immigration upon American character and institutions is to-day attracting, and properly attracting, an ever-increasing attention. The philosopher with his stars and the sociologist with his compass have of late been forecasting confident but divergent futures. To the pedestrian mind it is a relief to find that the historian is not so dilatory as he sometimes is in his less ambitious task of laying firm, by laborious engineering, the road from the past to the present. Experience seems to show that the first preliminary must be the careful and detailed study of the several racial elements, and Dean Babcock contributes a substantial block to this course of the construction.

While not as comprehensive a work as the study of the *German Element* by Dr. A. B. Faust, his monograph is somewhat sounder in quality. In fact, for the subjects and period that it covers, it is a model of historical workmanship. The text is clear and brief, but gives evidence of a wide knowledge of detail and a deep understanding of relationship. The critical essay on materials (pp. 183-204) is not needed to give authority to the text, but will serve as the recognized starting point of all further studies in the field. Two things seem to be so well done as not to require reworking. The history of the process by which the emigration movement extended through the Scandinavian countries (pp. 21-65), while it may be expanded, and has indeed been given in more de-

tail, can scarcely be improved. The study of the development of the self-governing instinct under the conditions of frontier life (pp. 140-156) deserves to become a classic. The tendencies of the Scandinavians to migrate in families, to settle in groups, and to vote the Republican ticket, are made plain. The relative weight of party and race in politics, the desire for political distinction and its attainment, and the economic conditions under which the immigrants established themselves, all receive due attention. The reviewer, however, believes that the author somewhat underrates (p. 181) the feeling between Swede and Norwegian caused by the separation of the kingdoms in 1906.

On the other hand, the treatment of the European background is scant, and the study of the social characteristics and tendencies of the Scandinavians is too dependent upon statistics. This is particularly true of the chapter on religion (pp. 106-129), where an admirable opportunity of revealing the quality of the Scandinavian mind is lost. The same indisposition to depart from concrete facts probably explains the writing of a book on the Scandinavian element in the United States without mention of Ibsen. Or if the influence of Ibsen is too intangible, the same certainly cannot be said of Swedenborg, whose philosophy connects so concretely with American thought. Of course, the purpose of Professor Babcock is to treat of Scandinavians materially present in the United States, but, to the non-Scandinavian American, the mind of that nation is most familiar by its manifestations in the national literature, and the historian of migration should certainly discuss the relation of the emigrants to such familiar ideals and points of view.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*Applied History.* Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Volume II. [Iowa Applied History Series.] (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914, pp. xx, 689.) "Applied History" is the Iowa designation of what Professor Robinson calls the "New History". For an historical society to decide that it will not be a mausoleum of books, that it will be forward-looking, is a truly remarkable fact and a hopeful one. The Iowa Historical Society made this decision when it planned its work so that its historical research will function in the social legislative programme of the state that supports it. This action might very well and profitably be imitated by university departments of history. For the plan Professor Shambaugh deserves the congratulations of all persons interested in the improvement of social legislation and public administration.

Professor Shambaugh conceives three steps necessary to scientific law-making—for it is this, in his mind, which is the justification of the series. These are: (1) the collection and indexing of data, *i. e.*, legislative reference work; (2) careful sifting of materials, a critical analysis of data, a scientific interpretation of facts, *i. e.*, scientific research; and (3) the expert drafting of bills. The *Applied History* series supplies the middle term of this trio. In the introduction to the first volume Pro-

fessor Shambaugh has defined its *point of view*. He says that the law of the continuity of history "affords substantial assurance that Applied History is not a dream but a sound and intelligent method of interrogating the past in the light of the conditions of the present and the obvious needs of the immediate future to the end that a rational program of progress may be outlined and followed in legislation and administration". *Its field* is the political, economic, and social history of Iowa. *Its method* may be defined briefly as the method of scientific historical research. So much is admirable.

The book is made up of a series of articles by different persons, dealing successively with the following subjects: reorganization of state government, home rule, direct legislation, equal suffrage, selection of public officials, removal of public officials, the merit system, social legislation, child labor and poor relief legislation. In every case the scope of the study is limited in its title to "in Iowa", though of course reference is frequently made to other places.

From the viewpoint of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW the first comment to make is that the essays of the volume are not in their primary intention historical. Brief superficial historical reviews of the subjects treated are given in practically all the papers. But the promise of the definition of "applied history" is not fulfilled in any of them. We expected a kind of natural history of the movements listed: of how in the light of their experience, or in spite of it, the people of Iowa progressed, or evolved their political, economic, social present status; and how, profiting vicariously from the experience of others, a new social programme was being evolved in the light of the history of local institutions. Such a promise is not fulfilled.

The essays are not contributions to knowledge from a scholarly viewpoint. Most of the references in all but one or two of the essays are to secondary authorities. Most of the authors in their prefaces say that their effort is to define the problems they are treating. The papers are admittedly not "exhaustive" treatment but give simply a "general view". As such they are very useful and helpful documents.

In type, paper, binding—in every mechanical detail the volume is excellent.

EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK.

*History of Education in Iowa.* By Clarence Ray Aurner. In two volumes. (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914, pp. xiv, 436, ix, 469.) These two handsome volumes, which really deal only with elementary education in Iowa, constitute the first third of an ambitious work to be devoted to the history of education in that commonwealth. The five parts of the first volume are given up to: general historical introduction, the public school funds, school districts, teachers in the schools, and text-books in the schools; the second volume treats in well-proportioned chapters of school supervision, state boards, teachers' institutes, teachers' associations, industrial training, parochial schools, etc.

The notes and references are massed at the end of each volume, and attest the author's thorough-going and minute knowledge of state and local legislation from the territorial period to the present; of reports of officials, commissions, and associations; and of the ups and downs of public sentiment from the days of the "School Killers" who opposed taxation for free schools, to the era of free text-books and evening schools for adults. The important part played by the State Teachers' Association, during its sixty years of activity, is well brought out in part IV. of the second volume.

So rigidly has the author held to his purpose to deal here only with the lower reaches of education that he seems at times to be oblivious of the interplay of such forces as came from racial or social antecedents of Iowa's population, economic conditions, early colleges and the state university, and religious sentiment. Neither the historical nor the geological writer can afford to study in its isolation the stratum upon which he is working; a General Historical Introduction (part I.) to a history of education of a state ought not to deal with common schools alone.

The careful analysis of state laws and the summarizing of state educational reports are among the best features of these volumes; they reveal the methods of an experienced and appreciative student. The massing of details occasionally lacks discrimination and emphasis and results in padded paragraphs and pages. Not even infinitesimal historical interest attaches to the fact that in the Burlington schools in 1853 "playing in the school building or rude and noisy play upon the grounds was expressly forbidden" (I. 25); nor is it necessary to give a half-page of text, with exact statistics of twenty-two years, to show that the number of women holding the office of county superintendent rose from one in 1870 to fifty-nine in 1913 (II. 89).

The usefulness of these two volumes, taken as a whole, and telling as they do the story of the normal development of the elementary schools of what might be called a typical state of the Middle West, prompts the hope that they may be followed by others at an early day. At least one state will then have a survey of the past and a full cross-section view of the present of its educational system and administration prepared and set forth in a clear and straightforward style by a single investigator.

K. C. BABCOCK.

*The Fall of Canada: a Chapter in the History of the Seven Years' War.* By George M. Wrong, Professor of History, University of Toronto. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914, pp. 272.) This volume deals with what may well be termed the critical year of Canadian history—the twelve months intervening between Montcalm's defeat on the Plains of Abraham in September, 1759, and the surrender of Montreal in September, 1760. It has been too often taken for granted that the Battle of the Plains settled things so far as French dominion in Canada was concerned. Professor Wrong has now shown conclusively how far the facts are from giving ground for any such notion. The hold which the



English maintained upon Quebec during the entire winter of 1759-1760 was most precarious. A little more vigor on the part of Lévis after the encounter at Ste. Foy would have demolished the entire results of Wolfe's patience and strategy. But Murray managed, in spite of great difficulties, to hold his grip until the English command of the seas turned the balance decisively in his favor.

Through most of the nineteenth century students of history were left to believe that a brilliant coup of the imagination was the chief factor in winning Canada for Great Britain. Parkman's great writings only strengthened this impression. But Dr. Doughty and Lieut.-Col. Wood have more recently demonstrated that without Vaudreuil's meddlesome incompetence the strategy of Wolfe's landing would never have had a gambler's chance of success. And now Professor Wrong brings proof that even with Quebec in British hands the conquest was not half assured. The army which Montcalm commanded on the Plains managed to get away from Wolfe's regiments and was promptly joined by nearly three thousand men under Bougainville. The French, in the winter of 1759-1760, had ten thousand men with whom to attack the city on its undefended side. General Murray, within the walls, had only half that number fit for duty. No wonder that he tried to draw the French into making a truce for the winter.

The author tells his story well. This does not imply, however, that the book is superficial. On the contrary, it goes more thoroughly into the events of its brief period than any previous volume has gone. Details drawn from a great variety of sources are woven together into an interesting narrative, with no attempt to plead the cause of any personage or theory.

The only feature of the volume meriting a word of serious criticism is the map which comes at the end. Surely Professor Wrong is not responsible for the weird cartography which places Lake Nipissing due north of Lake Superior, sets Lexington on the Merrimac, and locates the land of the Senecas down in Pennsylvania! The publishers must have included it as an afterthought.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

## COMMUNICATION

To the Managing Editor of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

SIR: The reviewer of my book, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific*, in the April number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XX. 627, charges me with erroneously estimating the distances between certain places named. I am willing to confess that the statement regarding the distance "across Holy Cross Bay" is erroneous. But the distances mentioned on page 78 are derived, and are there stated to be derived, from a letter from the United States Hydrographic Office, dated October 1, 1909, which is textually quoted in foot-note 177, on page 78. That foot-note reads:

Information obtained from the United States Hydrographic Office, October 1, 1909:

"Replying to your letter of September 22, 1909, in regard to the distance in nautical miles from Koluima River to the Anaduir River following the windings of the coast, the following information is furnished:

"Koluima River to East Cape .....	1115 miles
"East Cape to Anaduir River .....	1045 miles
Total .....	2160 miles"

As it is of some historical importance to know what the actual distances in question are, I call attention to the fact that the Hydrographic Office has in this letter testified, as it was requested by me to testify, as to the distances *following the windings of the coast*. My object in asking the Hydrographic Office for the information in this form was to learn what the distance would be if traversed in a small boat, proceeding as such a boat would be likely to proceed. In a more recent letter, April 9, 1915, the Acting Hydrographer, after confirming the statements I have just made, adds:

A review of the distances stated in these letters does not disclose any reason for change, except that when the measurement of the length of the coast line between East Cape and Anadir Bay is not carried into a greater degree of detail than the measurement of the length of coast line from Koluima River to East Cape, it would probably not exceed 800 nautical miles, instead of reaching the amount of 1045 miles.

Very truly yours,  
F. A. GOLDER.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

A General Index to volumes XI.-XX. of this journal will be prepared as soon as possible after the issue of this present number, which completes vol. XX. This index, as well as that for vols. I.-X. published ten years ago, may be ordered now for \$1; after the publication of the second index both will be sold by the Macmillan Company at \$1.25 each. Orders should be sent to them, at 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. The price mentioned is for books in paper binding. If indexes bound in black half-morocco, uniform with the binding for the REVIEW, are desired, 50 cents should be added.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is now possible to add some further details to the announcement made in our April issue respecting the meeting of the American Historical Association in California this month. The Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, extending from July 19 to July 23, will be marked by meetings of the American Asiatic Association and of the Asiatic Institute, as well as of the historical society. The session of Tuesday morning, July 20, will be devoted to a joint meeting of the three, at which the Philippine Islands and their history will be considered, in their relations to the history of the Pacific Ocean area. In the afternoon there will be a reception, at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, to the three societies. In the evening, Professor H. Morse Stephens, president of the American Historical Association, will give his address, on the Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean. The morning session of Wednesday, July 21, will be devoted to the Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska in their relations to the Pacific Ocean, the afternoon to Spanish-America and the Pacific Ocean, while in the evening an address on Spain and the Pacific Ocean will be given by Professor Don Rafael Altamira, of Madrid. On Thursday, July 22 (at the University of California, Berkeley), the morning session will be occupied with papers on the Exploration of the Northern Pacific Ocean and the Settlement of California; the afternoon with a meeting of the California History Teachers' Association, for the consideration of the teaching of history in schools. In the evening (at San Francisco) there will be an address on the History of California, by Hon. John F. Davis. On Friday, July 23 (at Stanford University, Palo Alto), the morning and afternoon will be occupied, as already announced, with papers on the history of Australasia and the Far East, and on the history of Japan, in their respective relations with the Pacific Ocean. In the evening (at San Francisco) Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig will give an

address on the History of the Panama Canal and its Significance in the History of the Pacific Ocean.

Volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1913 may be expected shortly from the Government Printing Office. Volume II. of the *Annual Report* is in page-proof. The Yale University Press will soon issue Miss Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1913*, invaluable to the student and deserving support from all members of the Association.

The Committee of Nine "to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the Association", has filled a vacancy in its membership by the choice of Professor Charles H. Hull, of Cornell University, to serve in the place of Dr. James Ford Rhodes, who declined service upon the committee.

The most important article in the April number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* is that on the Municipal System of the Roman State, by Professor W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin. Professor W. T. Russell of the Peabody College, Nashville, contributes to this number a list of the historical text-books published before 1861. To the May number Professor W. J. Trimble of North Dakota Agricultural College contributes a brief paper on the Agrarian History of the United States as a Subject for Research, and Professor Edgar Dawson discusses the New York Constitutional Convention. The June number offers an excellent table of contents which contains an article by Professor C. O. Davis on Realizable Educational Values in History; one by Professor W. K. Boyd on Local History in the College Curriculum, and a third by Professor M. W. Tyler on the Last Twelve Years of British Diplomacy. The usual excellent list of recent historical publications also appears.

#### PERSONAL

Professor Karl Theodor von Heigel, president of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences since 1904, died at Munich on March 23, at the age of seventy-two. His connection with the university of Munich had begun in 1873, when he was made a docent. In 1885 he was appointed a professor ordinarius, as successor of Giesebrecht. Besides a multitude of writings in Bavarian history, he was the author of a notable *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen zur Auflösung des alten Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1899-1911). He was a man of markedly genial and simple character. His last publication was upon an American subject, a *Festrede* which as president of the Bavarian Academy he delivered upon Count Rumford, upon occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Rumford's death.

Professor Karl Lamprecht, the most conspicuous historical writer of Germany, died on May 11, at the age of fifty-nine. For five years

he was a professor at Bonn, since 1891 at Leipzig, where his seminary for universal history and the history of civilization has long been famous. His first important publication was his *Deutsches Wirthschaftsleben im Mittelalter* (four volumes, 1886), his most celebrated, his *Deutsche Geschichte*, which, with its continuation, *Zur Jüngsten Deutschen Vergangenheit*, fills fifteen volumes (1891-1909), some of which have had five editions. He published also many controversial writings in defense of his revolutionary views upon the philosophy of history and upon historical methods. He sought, with extraordinary energy, acuteness, and self-confidence, to give history new foundations and new tendencies, by turning wholly from the study of the individual to the psychological and sociological study of the mass. In the interest of his ideas he wrote incessantly, instigated many publications, founded a school, exerted wide influence upon younger minds. Yet neither his general views nor the execution of his histories commended themselves extensively to his contemporaries. He summed up long and complex periods in simple formulae, and filled his great work with sweeping generalizations, which often showed brilliant flashes of insight, and often had no sufficient basis in fact.<sup>1</sup>

In France the ranks of the historians have suffered many losses in recent months from the older as well as from the younger generation. Professor Émile Amélineau, who died on January 12, 1915, aged sixty-four years, was the editor and author of numerous works relating chiefly to the religious history of Egypt. Jean Maspero, the son of Gaston Maspero, was killed in battle on February 18, aged twenty-nine years. He had already made a reputation by his scholarly publications on the Byzantine period in Egypt. Louis Émile Campardon, who died on February 23, 1915, aged seventy-eight years, and Edme Champion, who recently passed away at the age of seventy-nine years, were editors and authors of well-known works on the eighteenth century and the Revolution. Monsignor Douais, bishop of Beauvais, who had written much on the history of the Albigenes and of the Inquisition, died in March, aged sixty-seven years.

Abbé Gisbert Brom, director of the Dutch Historical Institute at Rome, died on February 6.

Professor Richard Hudson, who for thirty-two years had taught in the University of Michigan, died on February 22, at the age of sixty-nine.

Mr. Champlin Burrage, formerly of Brown University, more recently librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, has been chosen librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, in succession to Mr. George P. Winship.

<sup>1</sup> The kindly Heigel said to the writer of these lines nine years ago, "Lamprecht should not be so denounced and fought against. He is the most a genius of any of us. He is like a man who can improvise beautifully upon the piano-forte, but cannot play through correctly a simple sonata of Beethoven".

Dr. Annie H. Abel of Goucher College has accepted the position of associate professor at Smith College.

Mr. F. A. Sampson, who has long been secretary and librarian of the State Historical Society of Missouri, has resigned his position and been succeeded by Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, formerly assistant librarian of the society.

Assistant Professor Percy A. Martin of Leland Stanford University is to lecture on Latin-American history at Harvard during the first half of the coming year. Courses are also expected from Senhor Oliveira Lima of Brazil.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, is preparing to write a biography of his grandfather, Milledge L. Bonham (colonel in the United States army during the Mexican War, member of the United States Congress, brigadier-general in the Confederate army, member of the Confederate Congress, and governor of South Carolina 1862-1864), and will highly appreciate the favor if anyone having letters, documents, newspapers, magazines, personal recollections, or other data concerning his ancestor, will communicate with him.

#### GENERAL

To promote the study of the church history of the United States, a group of scholars connected with the Catholic University of America have begun the publication of *The Catholic Historical Review*. It will be published quarterly by the university; the price will be three dollars per annum. The secretary of the editorial board is Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday. The first number (April) gives assurance of good scholarship and of interesting contents, and thereby of a valuable contribution to the fabric of American church history. After prefatory remarks by Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Shahan, rector of the university, the following articles are printed: a brief first paper concerning the Flemish Franciscan Missionaries in North America (1674-1738), by Bishop Maes of Covington, an account of the life of the Rev. John C. Fenwick (1759-1815), our first native Dominican, by Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P., an article on the First Ecclesiastical Synod of California (1852), by Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., and a discussion of Columbus and the Santa Hermandad in 1492, by Professor Charles H. McCarthy. The further contents include a summary of the *Berichte* (1831-1842) of the Leopoldine Association, founded in Vienna in 1829 for the purpose of supporting American missions; a pastoral letter (1827) of Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati; letters from and to Gardoqui in 1786 (one of them from Dr. John Carroll), relative to the Spanish king's assistance in the building of St. Peter's Church in New York City; useful remarks on Catholic archives in America; book-reviews, etc. The new journal is distinctly to be welcomed, and its editors are to be congratulated.



The Benedictine scholar, P. R. Kögel, has published a useful manual on *Die Photographie Historischer Dokumente nebst den Grundzügen der Reproduktionsverfahren, wissenschaftlich und praktisch dargestellt* (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1914, pp. 119), as a supplement to the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*.

The *Interpretation of History* by L. Cecil Jane (Dent) applies the author's theory of the age-long conflict between universalism and individualism to the history of England.

The second volume of A. Segre, *Manuale di Storia del Commercio* (Turin, Lattes, 1915, pp. 513), treats the period since 1789. The first volume was published in 1913.

A French captain of engineers, A. Genez, published, on the eve of the present war, *Historique de la Guerre Souveraine* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1914).

As was to be expected, the 1914 volume of the *New International Year Book* (Dodd, Mead) devotes much space to a treatment of the war in its various aspects. This has not, however, prevented the inclusion of other noteworthy activities of the year.

Messrs. Marcus and Weber of Bonn have added to their educational series of *Kleine Texte* the Greek text of the temple-chronicle of Lindos, discovered in 1904 by the Danish Lindos-expedition, and the Latin texts of *Die Römischen Krönungseide der Deutschen Kaiser*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. De Launay, *Les Champs de Bataille prédestinés, Histoire et Géologie* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1); G. Sigwart, *Die Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens also Historischer Faktor* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. 1).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

Dr. J. Dugallier's thesis deals with *Les Institutions Judiciaires de l'Égypte Ancienne* (Paris, Gamber, 1914, pp. 196). A small volume by Carl Wessely, *Aus der Welt der Papyri* (Leipzig, Haessel, 1914, pp. 106), contains a short sketch of Egyptian history and conditions to A. D. 642, as revealed by the papyri, and a bibliography. A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger have issued the first part of *Byzantinische Papyri* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914, pp. x, 203, 37 folio plates) from the royal library in Munich.

A volume by Professor Eduard Meyer on *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin, Curtius, 1914, pp. viii, 168) opens a new series, *Kunst und Altertum, Alte Kulturen im Lichte Neuer Forschung*. The volume is abundantly illustrated.

The most recent volume in the Columbia University *Oriental Studies* is Dr. Wallace B. Fleming's *History of the City of Tyre*.

H. R. H. Hall has furnished an admirable summary of the recent discoveries in the lands around the Aegean, which have revealed the early Aegean civilization, in *Aegean Archaeology* (New York, Putnam, 1915, pp. 269).

In the series entitled *Records of Civilization*, heretofore described as in preparation by the Columbia University Press, the first volume, *Hellenic Civilization*, by Dr. G. W. Botsford and Dr. E. G. Sihler, will before long be published.

A. Bouché-Leclercq has published the second volume of his *Histoire des Séleucides*, 329-64 (Paris, Leroux, 1914).

C. Casati de Casatis has issued the second portion of *Les Étrusques: leur Langue et leur Civilisation* (Paris, Picard, 1914).

In the second volume of his *Storia Critica di Roma durante i Primi Cinque Secoli* (Rome, Loescher, 1915, pp. xv, 563), Professor Ettore Pais deals with the early republic, the decemviral legislation, and the wars against the Aequi, the Volsci, and the Etruscans.

An English translation of the *Histories* of Tacitus with introduction and notes has been published by Dr. George Gilbert Ramsay, through John Murray.

W. Klein has brought out a volume of *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1914).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Huber, *Kultur und Wirtschaftsleben im ältesten Babylonien* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); A. T. Olmstead, *The Earliest Book of Kings* (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, April).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Wernle, *Jesus und Paulus, Antithesen zu Boussets Kyrios Christos* (Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, XXV. 1); P. Corssen, *Das Martyrium des Bischofs Cyprian* (Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, XV. 3, 4; XVI. 1).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Volumes XI. and XII. of Mann's *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, are to appear shortly.

R. Sabbadini has continued his interesting account of the Renaissance manuscript hunters in *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci nei Secoli XIV. e XV.* (Florence, Sansoni, 1914, pp. 274).

Messrs. Scribner will soon publish a biography of Huss by Dr. David Schaff, to be entitled *John Huss: his Life, Teachings, and Death, after Five Hundred Years*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Coulin, *Die Wüstung, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Strafrechts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschen und Französischen Hochmittelalters* (Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, XXXII. 3); C. Sachsse, *Tiara und Mitra der Päpste* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXXV. 4).

### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The period since 1650 is covered in the seventh volume of Mortier's *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris, Picard, 1914, pp. x, 538). A volume on *I Domenicani in Lucca* (Lucca, Baroni, 1914) has been published by I. Taurisano.

The Oxford University Press has issued, as one of the "Oxford Pamphlets", *Select Treaties and Documents to Illustrate the Development of the Modern European States System*, by R. B. Mowat.

*Karl Marx, Pangermaniste, et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs de 1864 à 1870* (Paris, Colin, 1915) is an attempt by James Guillaume, based largely on the recently published correspondence between Marx and Engel, to prove that the activity of Marx in the International was anti-French and pro-German in character. The book has been the subject of lively controversy in the French press. F. Brupbacher has written on another phase of Marx's relations with the International in *Marx und Bakunin: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* (Munich, Birk, 1914).

In Schücking and Wehberg's series of *Völkerrechtliche Monographien*, the third volume is a study of *Die Völkerrechtliche Stellung Aegyptens* (Breslau, Kern, 1914), by Freiherr von Mayer.

The British government has published *Correspondence between his Majesty's Government and the United States Government respecting the Rights of Belligerents* [Cd. 7816].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anonymous, *Le Deliberazioni del Congresso di Vienna, Settembre 1814-Giugno 1815* (Civiltà Cattolica, February 20); M. Schäfer, *Bremen und die Kontinentalsperre* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1914, 2); F. Zweybrück, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Bündnisses zwischen dem Deutschen Reiche und Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Deutsche Rundschau, February).

### THE GREAT WAR

Two parts of a bibliography of *Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914-1915, pp. 22, 24) list the German publications which appeared during the first seven months of the war, some 2900 titles. A. Maire and A. Pereire are preparing *Les Sources de l'Histoire de la Guerre Européenne, 1914-1915* (Paris, Champion, 1915), which will include all publications in French relating to the war.

The important documents of international law applicable to the war, from the Declaration of Paris to the Declaration of London, are collected in *Conventions et Déclarations entre les Puissances concernant l'Arbitrage, la Guerre, et la Neutralité* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1914, pp. 272). The German proclamations for the administration of Belgium, issued between September 5 and December 26, are collected by C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer in *Législation Allemande en Belgique, Bulletin Officiel des Lois et Arrêtés pour le Territoire Belge Occupé, Réimpression Textuelle* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 120).

In *Deutsches Seekriegsrecht* (Berlin, Heymann, 1915, pp. viii, 188), H. Pohl has collected the more important documents relating to maritime law in war-time. An exhaustive treatment of the subject has been produced by Dr. H. Wehberg, in *Das Seekriegsrecht* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1915, pp. xi, 456), published in Stier-Somlo's *Handbuch des Völkerrechts*.

The American Association for International Conciliation prints, as the sixth issue in its series of "Documents regarding the European War", the *Austrian Red Book* in an official translation prepared by the Austrian government, and as the seventh, the *Serbian Blue Book*.

Additional discussions of the causes and preliminaries of the war will be found in F. Luckwaldt, *Die Vorgeschichte des Krieges* (Danzig, Kafemann, 1915, pp. 111); A. Gauvain, *Les Origines de la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Colin, 1915, pp. 333), which includes a reprint of the author's articles in the *Journal des Débats* from the assassination of the Archduke to the outbreak of the war; P. Saintyves, *Les Responsabilités de l'Allemagne dans la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Nourry, 1915, pp. 552), which traces Germany's foreign policy since 1870. Of special note is W. Wundt, *Die Nationen und ihre Philosophie: ein Kapitel zum Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, Kröner, 1915).

A third edition of General Maitrot's *Nos Frontières de l'Est et du Nord, l'Offensive par la Belgique, la Défense de la Lorraine* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. ix, 135), which first appeared in 1911, reveals how many events of 1914 were anticipated by this series of articles.

The events to the middle of November are narrated in the first volume of *Chronik des Deutschen Krieges nach Amtlichen Berichten und Zeitgenössischen Kundgebungen* (Munich, Beck, 1914, pp. xii, 484); and to the battles around Lodz, in the first volume of *Der Weltkrieg, 1914-1915* (Leipzig, Reclam, 1915) by Major-General von Loebell. Five parts have appeared of the *Illustrierte Weltkriegschronik der Leipziger Illustrierten Zeitung*, for which the text is written by P. Schreckembach. *Der Weltkrieg in Bildern und Dokumenten nebst einem Kriegstagebuch* (Leipzig, Meulenhoff, 1914, pp. 293) is a compilation by H. F. Helmolt.

Two remarkably interesting accounts of war times in Germany are E. Altier, *Journal d'une Française en Allemagne, Juillet-Octobre, 1914: En Silesie, À Berlin, Comment j'ai quitté l'Allemagne* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); and P. Balmer, *Les Allemands chez eux pendant la Guerre, de Cologne à Vienne, Impressions d'une Neutre* (*ibid.*).

The daily commentaries on the war by Joseph Reinach in the *Figaro* from August 4 to December 31 are collected in *La Guerre de 1914, Commentaires de "Polybe"* (Paris, Charpentier, 1915, pp. x, 374). The Paris publishing house of Hachette is issuing in semi-monthly parts a *Histoire de la Guerre par "Le Bulletin des Armées"*. Franc-Nohain and P. Delay began in March the publication in parts of an *Histoire Anecdotique de la Guerre de 1914-1915* (Paris, Lethielleux). Still another such publication is *1914! Pages de Guerre écrites au Jour le Jour* (Nancy, Rigot).

Commandant de Balincourt has prepared a useful compilation relating to the navies and to naval warfare in 1914, entitled *Les Flottes de Combat en 1914* (Paris, Challamel, 1914, pp. viii, 792). Rear-Admiral Kalau vom Hofe has written a brief account of the activities of the German fleet through February, *Unsere Flotte im Weltkrieg, 1914-1915* (Berlin, Mittler, 1915, pp. vi, 118).

The Department of State has printed, as a folio pamphlet of 88 pages, *Diplomatic Correspondence with Belligerent Governments relating to Neutral Rights and Commerce*. The documents relate to contraband, restraints on commerce, the *Wilhelmina*, and the *William P. Frye*, and are, with one exception, of dates previous to May 1.

P. Häberlin of Bern and G. de Reynold of Geneva have announced the founding of a *Revue des Nations*, and seek international co-operation to consider the renewal of intellectual intercourse between France and Germany. The enterprise is significant of the peculiar problem of Switzerland.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Munroe Smith, *Military Strategy versus Diplomacy in Bismarck's Time and Afterward* (Political Science Quarterly, March); F. Lenz, *Die Politischen Voraussetzungen des Modernen Krieges* (Deutsche Rundschau, January, February); Count Jules Andrassy, *Considérations sur les Origines de la Guerre* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); E. Bernstein, *Die Internationale der Arbeiter Klasse und der Europäische Krieg* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, XL. 2); J. de Lanessan, *Comment l'Éducation Allemande a créé la Barbarie Germanique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 10); C. Rist, *La Préparation Financière de l'Allemagne à la Guerre* (Revue de Paris, March 15); A. Sartorius, *Die Entwicklung der Deutschen und der Englischen Volkswirtschaft im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert und der Weltkrieg* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VIII. 1); E. Meyer, *Englands Krieg gegen Deutschland und die Probleme der Zu-*

*kunft* (Scientia, March); L. Latzarus, *Les Journaux pendant la Guerre, Notes d'un Journaliste* (Revue de Paris, April 15); R. Eucken, *Neutralität* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, April); P. O. d'Agostino, *La Neutralità della Svizzera* (Rassegna Contemporanea, February 20); R. A. Reiss, *Les Armées Austro-Hongroises en Serbie, Notes d'un Criminaliste Practicien* (Revue de Paris, April 1); J. E. Blanche, *Lettres d'un Artiste, 1914-1915* (*ibid.*, March 15, April 1, 15); T. Rocholl, *Kriegsbrieife eines Malers, mit sechszehn Bildern aus der Studienmappe des Schlachtenmalers* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, April); O. Vaschin, *Der Krieg und das Wetter*, I. (Deutsche Rundschau, April); C. Le Goffic, *Dixmude, un Chapitre de l'Histoire des Fusiliers Marins* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1, 15).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

*English History relative to European Movements* by G. H. Reed (London, Harrap) aims to show the effect of Continental history on that of English.

Much interesting material has been brought together in Rev. James B. Johnston's *The Place-Names of England and Wales* published by John Murray.

The *Social Works* series, published by Messrs. Adam and Charles Black, contains among its recent additions volume I. of *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, by Mr. E. Lipson.

A careful study of the early Irish culture is found in Professor R. A. S. Macalister's *Muredach, Abbot of Monasterboice, 890-923 A. D.: his Life and Surroundings*.

The Selden Society has in preparation *Year Books of 5 Edward II.*; *Select Cases before the King's Council*, ed. James F. Baldwin; *Select Ecclesiastical Pleas*, ed. Harold D. Hazeltine; Vacarius's *Liber Pauperum*, ed. F. de Zulueta; *Public Works in Mediaeval Law*, ed. Cyril Flower; *Select Entries from the Court Books of Chartered Companies*, ed. Cecil T. Carr; and *Select Cases from the Exchequer of Pleas*, ed. Hilary Jenkinson.

A valuable work for those interested in the history of education is Mr. A. F. Leach's *The Schools of Medieval England*, published by the Macmillan Company.

*A Life of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury*, by Algernon Cecil, is based on a thorough study of state papers.

*The History of the Evelyn Family* by Helen Evelyn (London, Eveleigh Nash) is an excellent specimen of family biography, dealing with a family whose history covers many years and includes numerous interesting figures.



In *Anne Hyde, Duchess of York*, by J. R. Henslowe (London, Laurie), the life of the first wife of James II. is illustrated by contemporary letters.

*Bulletin No. 15* of the Department of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, is *Modern British Foreign Policy* by J. L. Morison.

The *Home University Library* has added to the series an excellent volume entitled *Political Thought in England from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day*, by Mr. E. Barker.

F. A. M. Webster's *Britain's Territorials in Peace and War* (Sidgwick and Jackson) is an account of the origin and organization of the Territorial Force.

Arthur E. P. Browne Weigall, for many years inspector-general of antiquities in Egypt, has written *A History of Events in Egypt from 1798 to 1914*, giving a series of sketches of the men prominent in Egyptian history in the last century.

An interesting chapter in modern history is told by the Earl of Cromer in *Abbas II.* (Macmillan).

The second volume of *Historical Records of Australia* contains governors' despatches to and from England between 1797 and 1800.

British government publications: *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland*, 1-12 Edward IV., ed. Henry F. Berry (Dublin, 1914).

Other documentary publications: *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, vol. II., *Wardens' Account Book*, 1438-1516 (London, the Company).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: The Dean of Durham [H. H. Henson], *Magna Charta* (Edinburgh Review, April); R. Munro, *The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland* (Scottish Historical Review, April); Gaillard Lapsley, *Archbishop Stratford and the Parliamentary Crisis of 1341*, II. (English Historical Review, April); R. Häpke, *Die Handelspolitik der Tudors* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1914, 2); S. A. Peyton, *The Village Population in the Tudor Lay Subsidy Rolls* (English Historical Review, April); E. R. Turner, *The Privy Council of 1679* (*ibid.*); R. S. Rait, *Parliamentary Representation in Scotland: Councils and Conventions* (Scottish Historical Review, April).

## FRANCE

General reviews: H. Hauser, *Histoire de France, XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Revue Historique, March); R. Lévy, *Histoire Intérieure du Second Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January).

The Gallic, Roman, Merovingian, and Carolingian periods are treated

in the first volume of the *Manuel de Numismatique Française* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. vii, 431), by A. Blanchete and A. Dieudonné.

The numerous recent biographies of women are added to by H. Noel Williams's *Life of Margaret d'Angoulême* published in London by Nash.

H. Gillot has made a study of the German pamphlet literature against Louis XIV. in *Le Règne de Louis XIV. et l'Opinion Publique en Allemagne* (Nancy, Crépin-Leblond, 1914, pp. xvii, 375, review by C. Pfister, *Revue Historique*, January). The volume contains a list of the pamphlets used. A recent volume by M. D'Angelo is on *Luigi XIV. e la Santa Sede* (Rome, 1914).

The twenty-third volume of Professor Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public avec la Correspondance Officielle des Représentants en Mission* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. 877) includes the period from May 10 to June 2, 1795. There are some interesting letters with regard to the peace negotiations then in progress, such as the letter of Merlin of Thionville of May 20, with regard to German affairs and the letter of the same date with regard to Spain from Pelet de la Lozère. The various letters from the representatives in the newly conquered Holland also offer much of interest. The numerous letters from Blaux at Amiens are illustrative of internal affairs.

*The Life of Barnave*, by E. D. Bradley (Clarendon Press), is a two-volume work based on contemporary documents.

A new volume on *La Jeunesse de Bonaparte* (Tours, Mame, 1915, pp. 292) is by Jules Mazé. B. L. Smith, *Napoleon's Elba* (Florence, Seeber, 1914, pp. 99), and V. Mellini, *L'Isola d'Elba durante il Governo di Napoleone I.* (Florence, 1914, pp. xvi, 376) are new accounts of the first exile of the Emperor. A Danish work on the return from Elba is *Napoleons Hjemkomst fra Elba, 1ste-2ode Marts, 1815* (Odense, Hempel, 1914, pp. 240), by K. Schmidt. R. Rönsch, *Belle Alliance* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1914, pp. vii, 104) is a popular account of the Waterloo campaign.

The John C. Winston Company has issued a two-volume study on *Napoleon in Exile at St. Helena (1815-1821)*, by Mr. Norwood Young.

Dr. H. Louvancour has published his thesis, *De Henri de Saint-Simon à Charles Fourier, Étude sur le Socialisme Romantique Français de 1830* (Chartres, Durand, 1914, pp. 452).

Comte de Maugny's *Cinquante Ans de Souvenirs* (Paris, Plon, 1914, pp. viii, 318) contains many interesting items relating to various prominent personages of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Special mention may be made of the portion relating to Boulanger.

John N. Raphael has written a breezy account of *The Caillaux Drama* (London, Goschen, 1914, pp. 322).

A. Ambrosi, of the lycée at Bastia, has accumulated a mass of information in *Histoire des Corses et de leur Civilisation* (Bastia, 1914, pp. vii, 607).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. André-Michel, *Le Développement des Villes dans le Comtat-Venaissin, Avignon au Temps des Premiers Papes* (Revue Historique, March); L. Mirot, *Autour de la Paix d'Arras, 1414-1415* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, May, 1914); L. Mouton, *Le Duc d'Épernon et l'Archevêque de Bordeaux* (Revue des Études Historiques, July, January); A. Degert, *Le Chapeau du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Revue Historique, March); P. Bonnefon, *Retz et ses Mémoires* (Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, July, 1914); A. Mathiez, *Les Divisions dans les Comités de Gouvernement à la Veille de Thermidor, d'après quelques Documents inédits* (Revue Historique, January); E. Driault, *Une Conception Nouvelle de la Politique Extérieure de Napoléon* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); G. Rudler, *Le Vrai "Journal Intime" de Benjamin Constant, 1814-1815* (*ibid.*); E. Mayer, *La Responsabilité de Napoléon III. dans la Faillite de l'Artillerie Française en 1870* (*ibid.*); E. Daudet, *Autour de la Crise de 1875, Notes et Souvenirs* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Pubblicazioni sulla Guerra Libica* (Rivista Storica Italiana, April).

The following publications useful for the bibliography of Italian history have recently appeared: C. Cipolla, *Pubblicazioni sulla Storia Medioevale Italiana* (Venice, Istituto Veneto di Arti Grafiche, 1914, pp. 379); E. Casanova, *Gli Archivi Provinciali del Mezzogiorno d'Italia e della Sicilia* (Siena, Lazzeri, 1914, pp. 119); and S. de Pilato, *Saggio Bibliografico sulla Basilicata* (Potenza, Garramone, 1914, pp. xix, 196).

Recent publications of the Istituto Storico Italiano include P. Egidi, *Necrologi e Libri affini della Provincia Romana* (vol. II., *Necrologi della Città di Roma*, Rome, tip. Senato, 1914, pp. ix, 548); A. Crivellucci, *Pauli Diaconi Historia Romana* (*ibid.*, pp. lxi, 305); C. Cipolla, *Le Opere di Ferreto de' Ferreti Vicentino* (vol. II., *ibid.*, pp. 298); G. Monticolo and E. Besta, *I Capitolari delle Arti Veneziane dalle Origini al 1330* (vol. III., *ibid.*, pp. xlii, 416). L. Simeoni has edited *Gli Antichi Statuti delle Arti Veronesi secondo la Revisione Scaligera del 1319* (Venice, tip. Emiliana, 1914, pp. lxxiii, 495); and A. Fierens, *Suppliques d'Urbain V., 1362-1370* (Rome, Bretschneider, 1914, pp. xxiii, 986).

A discussion *Sulla Questione dell' Unità o Dualità del Diritto in Italia sotto la Dominazione Ostrogota* (Milan, Hoepli, 1913) is by P. del Giudice. The second volume of Besta, *Storia del Diritto Italiano* (Pisa, Galleri, 1914) relates to the Lombard period, as does G. Ferrari, *Ricerche sul Diritto Ereditario in Occidente nell' Alto Medioevo, soprattutto nel*

*Regno Longobardico* (Venice, Ferrari, 1914, pp. viii, 211). In the realm of private law, F. Schupfer has published *Il Diritto Privato dei Popoli Germanici, con speciale Riguardo all' Italia, II. La Famiglia* (Rome, Loescher, 1914, pp. vi, 307); and P. S. Leicht, *Ricerche sul Diritto Privato nei Documenti Preirneriani* (Rome, Athenaeum, 1914, pp. 211). B. Brugi has written an essay *Per la Storia della Giurisprudenza e delle Università Italiane* (Turin, Utet, 1914, pp. ix, 250); and A. Prologo has recounted the work of *Due Grandi Giureconsulti del Secolo XIII., Andrea de Barulo e Andrea d'Isernia* (Trani, Vecchi, 1914, pp. 45).

*Studien zur Individualität des Franziskus von Assisi* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914) is a notable volume by Tilemann. R. Morcay, *Saint Antonin, Fondateur du Couvent de Saint-Marc, Archevêque de Florence, 1389-1459* (Paris, Gabalda, 1914, pp. xxvi, 500), is an elaborate and pious biography of a somewhat unimportant personage. A much more scholarly effort is the life of Poggio Bracciolini by Professor Ernst Walser of Zurich, *Poggius Florentinus, Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914, pp. viii, 567).

Two volumes of *Lettere* (Bari, Laterza, 1914, pp. xviii, 241, 357) from Bernardo Tanucci to Ferdinando Galiani have been published.

It is announced that King Victor Emmanuel III. is preparing a collection of some 800 letters of his grandfather, Victor Emmanuel II. V. Boragine is the author of an account of *Lo Storico Incontro di Vittorio Emanuele II. e Garibaldi, 26 Ottobre 1860* (S. Maria C. V., Cavotta, 1914, pp. 199).

From the many contributions to the local history of modern Italy, the following may be selected as among the more important: F. Cognasso, *Documenti Inediti e Sparsi sulla Storia di Torino* (Turin, Baravalle, 1914, pp. viii, 405); G. Jalla, *Storia della Riforma in Piemonte fino alla Morte di Emanuele Filiberto, 1517-1580* (Florence, Claudiana, 1914, pp. iv, 411); V. Mauro, *Il Vicereame di Napoli al Tempo del Duca d'Alcalá, 1559-1571* (Pesaro, Federici, 1914, pp. 81); P. L. Levati, *I Dogi di Genova e Vita Genovese, 1746-1771* (Genoa, Gioventù, 1915, pp. 424); G. Signorelli, *Viterbo dal 1789 al 1870* (vol. I, Viterbo, Minissi, 1914, pp. 713); G. Paladino, *La Rivoluzione Napoletana nel 1848* (Milan, Vallardi, 1914, pp. viii, 203); and C. Cesari, *La Difesa di Roma nel 1849* (*ibid.*, 1913, pp. 140).

The judicial archives stored in the Palace of Justice of Madrid are reported to have been destroyed by fire on May 4-5.

The Junta para Ampliación de Estudios é Investigaciones Científicas has recently published the following volumes of historical documents: *Capitulaciones con Francia y Negociaciones Diplomáticas de los Embajadores de España, 1265-1714* (Madrid, 1914, pp. xii, 902), edited by Don Julián Paz, from the Archives of Simancas; *El Consejo Supremo*

de Aragón en el Reinado de Felipe II., *Estudio y Transcripción de los Documentos Originales y Inéditos de este Consejo, existentes en el Museo Británico* (Madrid, 1915, pp. xcix, 386), edited by Professor C. Riba y García; and *Correspondencia Diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el Pontificado de S. Pio V.* (3 vols., Madrid, 1914), edited by L. Serrano.

The principal contents of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* for April, 1915 (año III., núm. 7), are two articles by Professor Vicente Lloréns Asensio. One treats of the bulls of Alexander VI. concerning the possession of the Indies and the division of the earth, and includes Spanish translations of the bulls *Inter Caetera* of May 3 and 4, 1493, and *Romanus Pontifex*, issued by Nicholas V. on January 8, 1454/5. The second article gives the evidence for the conclusion that Martin Alonso Pinzon was not only no enemy of Columbus but afforded him the most valuable aid. While neither paper contains newly-discovered facts, both are notably clear, well-reasoned, and well-informed.

The third volume of *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid, Beltrán, 1914, pp. 532), by the Marqués de Villa-Urrutia, relates to the years 1812-1814 and includes the Congress of Vienna. F. Anton del Olmet has issued the fifth volume of *El Cuerpo Diplomático Español en la Guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid, Pueyo, 1914, pp. 219).

A. Flores Caamaño has published an account of *Don José Mejía Lequerica en las Cortes de Cádiz de 1810 à 1813, o sea el Principal Defensor de los Intereses de la América Española en la más Grande Asamblea de la Península* (Barcelona, Maucci, 1914, pp. 576).

J. del Nido y Segalerva is the author of *Historia Política y Parlamentaria del Excelentísimo Sr. D. Antonio Cánovas del Castillo* (Madrid, Velasco, 1914, pp. 1081).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Cian, *La Candidatura di Ferdinando di Savoia al Trono di Sicilia, 1848* (Nuova Antologia, April 1); J. Pozzi, *L'Italia Irredenta* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1); J. Alazard, *La Neutralité Italienne* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); "Victor", *L'Italia nella Conflagrazione Internazionale, l'Italia non è la Turchia* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); R. Michels, *I Problemi Attuali della Politica Italiana* (ibid., April 1); "Victor", *Problemi Interni e Problemi Internazionali* (ibid., April 1); A. Eitel, *Rota und Rueda* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, V. 3); R. Costes, *Le Mariage de Philippe II. et de l'Infante Marie de Portugal, Relation d'Alonso de Sanabria, Evêque de Drivasto* (Bulletin Hispanique, January).

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Walther Vogel has issued the first volume of a *Geschichte der Deutschen Seeschifffahrt* (1915). A small volume on *La Marine de Guerre Allemande avant Guillaume II.* (Paris, Challamel, 1914) was published by R. Cayrol before the outbreak of war.

Pre-reformation and general materials are included in the first volume of *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915) edited by G. Wolf.

The A. J. Holman Company of Philadelphia announce a ten-volume translation of the most important works of Luther, with introduction and notes.

The fourth volume of Dr. Hartmann Grisar's *Luther*, translated by E. M. Lamond and edited by Luigi Cappadelta, has come from the press of Messrs. Kegan Paul.

In a little volume on *Staat und Kirche (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, no. 485, Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. 118), Dr. A. Pfannkuche has furnished a good succinct statement of the changing relations of Church and State in Germany from the Reformation to the present day and given a statement of the present situation in the several German states. There are two or three pages on the relations of Church and State in the United States and a paragraph or two on the conditions in other countries.

R. Wolff has edited an interesting volume, *Vom Berliner Hofe zur Zeit Friedrich Wilhelms I., Berichte des Braunschweiger Gesandten in Berlin, 1728-1733* (Berlin, Mittler, 1914).

The centenary of Bismarck's birth has given occasion for the appearance of a considerable group of publications, mostly trivial or occasional in nature. Among the best are Erich Marcks, *Otto von Bismarck, ein Lebensbild* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. xi, 256), and Otto Baumgarten, *Bismarcks Glaube* (Tübingen, 1915, pp. 324). A. von Brauer, E. Marcks, and K. A. von Müller have compiled *Erinnerungen an Bismarck, Aufzeichnungen von Mitarbeitern und Freunden des Fürsten, mit einem Anhang von Dokumenten und Briefen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. xii, 421). P. Liman has prepared a popular illustrated volume, *Bismarck in Geschichte, Karikatur, und Anekdote* (Stuttgart, Strecker and Schröder, 1915, pp. xi, 300). More Bismarck family correspondence appears in E. Heyck, *Johanna von Bismarck: ein Lebensbild in Briefen, 1844-1894* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. 369). Two Bismarck episodes are the subjects of F. Lowenthal, *Der Preussische Verfassungskrieg, 1862-1866* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914, pp. xii, 342), and R. Fester, *Die Genesis der Emser Depesche* (Berlin, Paetel, 1915, p. 240).



Arthur Dix has published a second edition of his *Deutscher Imperialismus* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1914, pp. iv, 110) which first appeared in 1912. Two French views are presented in H. Andrillon, *L'Expansion de l'Allemagne, ses Causes, ses Formes, ses Conséquences* (Paris, Rivière, 1914), and in J. Flach, *Essai sur la Formation de l'Esprit Public Allemand* (Paris, 1914).

The special legislation for the period of war in Germany is contained in L. Hess, *Die Kriegsgesetze zur Abhilfe Wirtschaftlicher Schädigungen, mit ausführlicher Inhaltsübersicht und kurzen Erläuterungen* (Stuttgart, Hess, 1914, pp. 78); and in *Kriegs-, Zivil-, und Finanzgesetze vom 4. August 1914* (Berlin, Gutentag, 1914, pp. 121).

The first volume of a *Geschichte der Stadt Essen* (Essen, Baedeker, 1914) has been published by K. Ribbeck. W. Berdrow has compiled a volume on *Friedrich Krupp, der Gründer der Gussstahlfabrik, in Briefen und Urkunden* (*ibid.*, 1915).

Count Khevenhüller-Metsch and Dr. Hanns Schlitter have published the part for 1756-1757 of *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias, Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, Kaiserlichen Oberhofmeisters, 1742-1776* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1914). The missing volumes of the diary for these two eventful years were found in the possession of Countess Aglae Kinsky. So far as published the diary now covers the years 1742-1749, and 1752-1759. G. Holzknecht has made a notable contribution to the history of the reforms of Joseph II. in *Ursprung und Herkunft der Reformideen Kaiser Josefs II. auf Kirchlichem Gebiete* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1914). K. Hugelmann's collection of *Historisch-Politische Studien* (Vienna, Roller, 1915) contains essays on Austrian history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Middle Ages are covered in the second volume of P. H. Scheffel, *Verkehrsgeschichte der Alpen* (Berlin, Reimer, 1914). *Die Schweiz und die Europäische Handelspolitik* (Zürich, Füssli, 1914) is by P. H. Schmidt. O. Weiss, *Die Tessinischen Landvogteien der XII Orte im 18. Jahrhundert* (Zürich, Leemann, 1915) is an important contribution to Swiss local history published in *Schweizer Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Kühn, *Zur Entstehung des Wormser Edikts* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXV. 3, 4); L. Bertrand, *Goethe et le Germanisme* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15); A. Leitzmann, *Wilhelm von Humboldt, Reisetagebücher, 1788-1789* (*Die Neue Rundschau*, January-April); F. Meusel, *Aus Marwitz' Memoiren: der Zusammenbruch des Preussischen Staates, 1806*, I., II. (*Deutsche Rundschau*, March, April); F. Meusel, *Bismarck, Arnstedt, und der Patriotische Verein der Zauche, 1848-1852* (*ibid.*, April); O. Baumgarten, *Bismarck als Religiöser Charakter* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, April); H. Oncken, *Bismarck, zur Feier seines Hundertjährigen*

*Geburtstags* (Die Neue Rundschau, April); H. Welschinger, *L'Oeuvre de Bismarck à propos d'un Anniversaire* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); F. Rachfahl, *Die Innere Politik Bismarcks und die Gegenwart* (Deutsche Rundschau, April); A. Dix, *Die Wirtschaftliche Mobilmachung Deutschlands, 1914* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, CIV. 1); V. Porri, *L'Organizzazione dell' Economia Germanica e la Crisi della Guerra* (La Riforma Sociale, February); Tschierschky, *Die Kriegs-Getreidepolitik Deutschlands, 1914* (Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft, VI. 3, 4); G. Fagniez, *La Transylvanie Indépendante et Sujette* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The German-Belgian question of an earlier generation is fully discussed in Schwahn's *Die Beziehungen der Katholischen Rheinlande und Belgiens in den Jahren 1830-1840* (Strassburg, Herder, 1914).

The Belgian government has published *La Neutralité de la Belgique* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp 165) which contains the Gray Book and other documents down to October 14, with a preface by Paul Hymans of the Belgian ministry; and *La Violation du Droit des Gens en Belgique* (*ibid.*, 1915, pp. 167) which contains the official reports of the commission of investigation with a preface by the cabinet minister J. van den Heuvel. Differing views of the Belgian question are set forth in E. Waxweiler, *La Belgique Neutre et Loyale* (Lausanne, Payot, 1915) and *Hat Belgien sein Schicksal verschuldet?* (Zürich, Füssli, 1915); O. Boulanger, *France et Belgique, 1914-1915, Ce que la France a Dit, Ce qu'elle a Fait pour la Belgique* (Paris, Hachette, 1915); A. Schulte, *Von der Neutralität Belgiens* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1915); P. Nothomb, *Les Barbares en Belgique* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); and C. Sarolea, *L'Héroïque Belgique* (Paris, Crès, 1914).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Fromme, *Der Nationalitätenkampf in und um Belgien* (Deutsche Rundschau, January); H. Gmelin, *Die Gesetzgebung zum Schutze der Vlämischen Sprache in Belgien* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VIII. 1); A. Fontainas, *Villes Flamandes Dévastées, Louvain, Malines, Ypres* (Mercure de France, April 1); E. R. Turner, *The Permanent Neutrality of Belgium* (Nation, April 15).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire de Russie, Publications de l'Année 1913* (Revue Historique, March).

The Swedish Historical Academy's annual, *Fornvännen*, for 1914 (pp. 298), contains an instructive address by Dr. Oscar Almgren of Upsala on the present state of researches respecting the earliest population of Sweden; a survey, by Dr. Eskil Olsson, of the prehistoric structures in Ångermanland; and a very interesting illustrated paper by

Professor O. Montelius on the runic inscriptions relating to warriors who took part in expeditions to the eastward—to Russia, the Greek Empire, and the Orient.

The first volume of *La Suède et l'Orient, Études Archéologiques sur les Relations de la Suède et de l'Orient pendant l'Age des Vikings* (Upsala, Appelberg, 1914, pp. 242), by T. J. Arne, has appeared in Lundell's *Archives d'Études Orientales*.

H. K. Steffens has published a volume on *Den Norske Central-administrations Historie, 1814-1914* (Christiania, Stenersen, 1914, pp. 397).

Dr. Robert H. Lord of Harvard University has published through the Harvard University Press *A History of Poland*.

In *Περὶ τῆς οἰκονομικῆς διοικήσεως τῆς Ἑπτανήσου ἐπὶ Βενετοκρατίας* (2 vols., Athens, *Hestia*, 1914), Professor A. M. Andreádes has given an excellent account of the economic administration of the Ionian islands under Venetian rule. The text is in Greek, but with an analysis in French. The author has used the Venetian archives, and gives a good bibliography. A volume on the period from 1797 to 1863 is promised.

A series of ten lectures on *Die Balkanfrage* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914, pp. 233) forms the third issue of the *Veröffentlichungen der Handelshochschule München*, edited by M. J. Bonn.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Bruno, *Oefversikt öfver Litteraturen rörande Källorna till 1809 års Regeringsform* (Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift för Politik, Statistik, Ekonomi, September); F. Bajer, *La Neutralité Scandinave* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); P. G. La Chesnais, *Le Neutralisme en Norvège* (Mercure de France, April 1); L. V. Birck, *Le Danemarck et la Guerre* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); N. D. Harris, *The Southern Slav Question* (American Political Science Review, May).

#### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

The *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. XLIII., part I. (Tokyo, 1915, pp. 170) is an elaborate and extensive Bibliography of Early Spanish-Japanese Relations, by Dr. James A. Robertson, librarian of the Philippine Library of Manila. The book notes material found in that library. It begins with a list of 157 manuscripts, copied from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, or brought from Barcelona as a part of the collection acquired from the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas in 1913. The books, some seventy in number, were mostly printed between 1570 and 1700, and embrace many rarities. They consist largely of Jesuit relations and other records of missionary activity and martyrdom in Japan. All are fully described in this useful manual; facsimiles are given in some cases.

*China, die Republik der Mitte: ihre Probleme und Aussichten* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1914, pp. viii, 264) is the work of Freiherr von Mackay.

H. G. C. Perry-Ayscough and R. B. Otter-Barry are the authors of *With the Russians in Mongolia* (New York, Lane, 1914, pp. xxii, 344).

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

At the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington Professor Faust's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* has gone to the printer. The manuscripts of Mr. R. R. Hill's descriptive list of United States materials in the Cuban section of the Archives of the Indies at Seville, of Professor Golder's guide to those in Russian archives, and of the first volume (to 1648) of Miss Davenport's *Treaties between European Powers bearing on American History*, have been received.

The Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, has lately acquired the diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1856-1865, in 25 volumes; some 44 miscellaneous manuscripts of William Wirt, relating to his *Life of Patrick Henry*; General Philip Schuyler's memorandum-book, 1783-1787; Alexander Hamilton's outlines of argument in the case of Rutgers v. Waddington, 1783; the collected papers of General Samuel Smith of Maryland, of John Spear Smith, and of George Nicholas and Wilson Cary Nicholas of Virginia; and (on deposit) the committee reports of Edmund Randolph and the speeches of George Mason in the convention of 1787.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1914, contains an account of early Harvard broadsides by Mr. William C. Lane, with several facsimiles, a paper by Mr. Thomas W. Balch on the Swedish Beginning of Pennsylvania and other events in Pennsylvania history, and an important article on the Royal Disallowance by Professor Charles M. Andrews. The bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820, is continued from Kentucky to Maine, inclusive, in the same thoroughgoing manner which has prevailed in the preceding installments.

In the December number of the *Magazine of History* appear George R. Prowell's third paper on Pennsylvania County Names, a continuation of Col. LeGrand B. Cannon's Personal Reminiscences of the Rebellion, and a paper of Lieutenant-Colonel S. A. Drake on the Old Army in Kansas.

The February and March numbers of *Americana* continue the papers of Rev. A. W. H. Eaton, concerning the Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761.

It is announced that Mr. William Abbatt plans to prepare and publish an index to the seven volumes thus far published of Avery's *History of the United States*.

Recent issues of *Magazine of History, Extra Numbers* are: *J. Wilkes Booth: or the National Tragedy* (No. 29), by W. A. Luby; *Army Life on the Pacific* (No. 30), by Lawrence Kip; Elias Darnell's *Journal* (1812-1813), etc. (No. 31); *Rare Lincolniana* (Nos. 32, 34); Evans's *Memoir of Kosciusko*, etc. (No. 36); Leslie Stephen's *The Times on the American War* (No. 37).

Messrs. Appleton have published *Readings in the History of the American Nation*, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord's excellent paper on *The Relation of the State to Historical Work*, read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in January, 1915, has been published as the first number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*.

Messrs. Lippincott are soon to publish *English Ancestral Homes of Noted Americans* by Mrs. Anne Hollingsworth Wharton.

Mr. John O. Austin of Providence has prepared and published a volume of *American Authors' Ancestry* in which he sets forth genealogies of 103 noted Americans, mostly authors, and mostly of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Under the title *The North Pole Aftermath* has been printed a speech of Honorable S. D. Fess in the House of Representatives, March 4, 1915, relating to the history of the Arctic expeditions of Admiral Peary and Doctor Cook, with reference to *House Report No. 1961*, 61 Cong., third session.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The valuable work which the War and Navy Departments have been doing, in the collecting and photographing of documents relating to the Revolutionary War, under the direction of Capt. H. C. Clark, came to a stop at the end of May, the special appropriation having been exhausted, and no new appropriation made by Congress. Photographs to the number of 30,000 have been accumulated, making a large addition to the Department's material, and completing the work for North Carolina, while that for Massachusetts and Virginia has been carried a long way toward completion. It must be regarded as unfortunate that the work cannot be continued.

The Newberry Library, Chicago, has issued as *Bulletin No. 4*, a *List of Documentary Material relating to State Constitutional Conventions, 1776-1912*, compiled by Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the library staff. The items number altogether 615. A limited number of copies for the use of scholars interested is available upon request.

C. F. Heartman and Company of New York have brought out three documentary volumes pertaining to the Revolution, designated as *Heartman's Historical Series*, nos. 1, 2, and 3. No. 1 is a translation from the German of *The Narrative of Johann Carl Buettner in the American Revolution*; no. 2 is *Letters Written by Ebenezer Huntington during the American Revolution*, ed. G. W. F. Blanchfield; and no. 3 is a translation from the German of A. Pfister's *The Voyage of the First Hessian Army from Portsmouth to New York, 1776*. Included in the latter volume is an extract from the diary of the German poet, J. G. Seume, one of the Hessian soldiers.

Mr. Oscar E. Rising of Rochester, New York, is the author and publisher of a biographical sketch of Gen. John Sullivan, to which is given the title *A New Hampshire Lawyer in General Washington's Army* (pp. 128). The book includes an account of Sullivan's expedition against the Six Nations in 1779.

*The Revolutionary War and the Military Policy of the United States*, by Gen. Francis V. Greene, which traces the gradual growth of the regular army and discusses the popular faith in untrained militia, is particularly timely in its appearance (Scribner).

The Naval History Society has just issued to members, as its sixth volume, *Letters and Papers relating to the Cruises of Gustavus Conyngham, a Captain of the Continental Navy, 1777-1779* (New York, 1915, pp. liii, 241), drawn from the manuscript collections of Mr. James Barnes and many other sources, and edited by Robert W. Neeser.

*The Political and Economic Doctrines of John Marshall, and also his Letters, Speeches, and hitherto Unpublished and Uncollected Writings*, edited by John E. Oster (New York, Neale, 1915) contains, along with the speeches and decisions, 140 letters, of which about a fifth are new.

The Johns Hopkins Press has lately published *The Diplomacy of the War of 1812* (pp. 504) by Professor Frank A. Updyke of Dartmouth, being the lectures delivered in 1914 on the Albert Shaw Foundation.

Messrs. Putnam have published *The Education of the Negro prior to 1861*, by C. G. Woodson.

The Bell Book and Stationery Company of Richmond have issued *A Brief Sketch of the Work of Matthew Fontaine Maury, 1861-1865*, by his son.

A Civil War volume and one on Reconstruction have recently been issued by Neale: *The Battle of Gettysburg*, by Francis Marshall, and *The Aftermath of the Civil War in Arkansas*, by P. Clayton.

Major-General Grenville M. Dodge has published *Personal Recollections of President Abraham Lincoln, General Ulysses S. Grant, and General William T. Sherman* (Council Bluffs, Monarch Press).



## LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Dr. Henry S. Burrage, reappointed as state historian of Maine, has in preparation an elaborate work on *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy*.

The December-January serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society has for its chief contents a body of unpublished instructions and despatches of the British commissioners at Ghent in 1814, and a paper by the late Mr. Charles Francis Adams on the British Proclamation of May 1861. The February serial has a paper by Professor John S. Bassett on the Development of the Popular Churches after the Revolution, and one by Professor T. C. Smith on General Garfield at Chickamauga. In the March serial Mr. Samuel E. Morison prints some significant documents respecting the Massachusetts "embassy" to Washington in 1815, namely, a personal letter of Governor Strong to the three commissioners, January 31, 1815, and their secret instructions from the governor's council. Their commission and report are for convenience reprinted. The April serial is almost entirely occupied with tributes to the late Charles Francis Adams. At the annual meeting Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was made president of the society in succession to Mr. Adams.

Mr. Albert Matthews prints in advance, from volume XVII. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, pp. 293-391, an elaborate paper on the term Pilgrim Fathers, and on the early celebrations of Forefathers' Day.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* continues in the April number the papers of G. A. Moriarty, jr., concerning Elias Hasket, governor of New Providence, Bahamas, in 1702.

A committee of the towns of Brookfield, West Brookfield, North Brookfield, and New Braintree has just published *Quabaug, 1660-1910; an Account of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration held at West Brookfield, Mass., September 21, 1910* (Worcester, Davis Press, 1915, pp. 127). This contains an address by Mr. Roger Foster on the history of Brookfield, including a discussion of the Brookfield tradition that the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 was drafted by Jedediah Foster instead of by John Adams.

The *Report of the Committee on Marking Historical Sites in Rhode Island*, made to the General Assembly at its January session, 1913 (Providence, E. L. Freeman Company, 1914, pp. 183), includes a number of historical addresses, delivered on the occasions of placing the tablets: Gilbert Stuart, and Drum Rock, by William B. Weeden, the House and Home-lot of Roger Williams, and the Swamp Fight (1675), by N. M. Isham, Fort Independence, by C. S. Brigham, Lafayette (embodying several errors, typographical and other), by O. L. Bosworth, the Michael Pierce Fight (1676), by Edwin C. Pierce, Massasoit, by

Colonel T. W. Higginson, Prescott's Headquarters, by W. P. Sheffield, Stephen Hopkins, by W. E. Foster, and Esek Hopkins, by N. W. Littlefield.

The University of the State of New York, Division of History, has completed its issue of the *Public Papers of George Clinton* by the publication of volume X., being that portion of the analytical index to the series which runs from G to Z. To this has been added a list of papers of Governor Clinton in collections other than the New York State Library, and a rough bibliography of printed material relating to him.

The United Historical and Patriotic Societies and Associations of New York have offered a series of prizes for a history about one hundred thousand words in length, "that will truthfully show New York's participation in the events that led to the establishment of the United States as an independent nation, to be written in an interesting form". There is a first prize of one thousand dollars, a second of five hundred, and a third of two hundred and fifty dollars. There is a further prize of one hundred dollars offered for the best essay, containing about ten thousand words, on one of twenty-four selected subjects. The manuscripts of the history must be delivered to the secretary, Abram Wakeman, 96 Water street, New York City, by October 1, 1916. In the case of the essay no time limit seems to be set.

Under the title *The Bombardment of New York and the Fight for Independence on the Waters of New York City against the Sea Power of Great Britain in the Year 1776* Mr. Reginald P. Bolton has given more or less circumstantial accounts of the actions in the waters about New York city. Much of the story is little more than a collection of incidents, lacking in unity. Many quotations from original documents are given but the sources are not pointed out.

The Buffalo Historical Society has brought out a volume (*Publications*, vol. XVIII.) bearing the title *Peace Episodes on the Niagara, with Other Studies and Reports*. That which gives the book its principal title is a group of papers by Mr. Frank H. Severance. The first of these is an extended account of the conference at Niagara Falls in 1914 to deal with the Mexican situation. The second concerns the attempt by a group of Confederates in 1864, through the instrumentality of Horace Greeley, to bring about peace negotiations. The third paper, entitled "Niagara's Consecration to Peace", relates to the Catholic church, "Our Lady of Peace", situated on the Canadian side above the cataract. A fourth paper gives a history, with a number of the documents, of Ephraim Douglass's peace mission to the Indians in 1783. The fifth and last paper of the series is an address, delivered on several occasions, entitled "The Centenary of Peace in relation to the Region of the Niagara and the Great Lakes". The other papers are: a history, by Joseph Elkinton, of the Quaker mission among the Indians of New

York state, beginning in 1790 and extending through more than a century; Notes on the Literature of the War of 1812, by F. H. Severance; an account, by the same author, of the Case of Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth, who was in command of troops in the region of Buffalo, 1812-1813, including his letters and proclamations; and, lastly, a translation, by H. F. De Puy, of Rev. Louis Bridel's *Le Pour et Le Contre: ou Avis à ceux qui se proposent de passer dans les États-Unis d'Amérique*, a book published in Paris in 1803 and now rare. The volume also includes the proceedings of the Buffalo Historical Society at its fifty-second annual meeting, January, 1914.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for July and October, 1914 (third series, vol. IX., no. 1), contains an appreciative sketch of the life and historical work of the late William Nelson, for many years corresponding secretary of the society.

The new Pennsylvania Historical Commission established by act of 1913 and charged with the duty of marking and preserving antiquities and historical landmarks of Pennsylvania, has made its report (pp. 41), in the nature of a survey of the work lying within the field of the commission; an appendix presents a list of historical sites in Pennsylvania, marked and to be marked.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired the papers of the late Jay Cooke, comprising 37,850 manuscripts, with books, pamphlets, and broadsides, presented by his heirs.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April contains an article by Dr. Amandus Johnson on John Classon Rising, the Last Director of New Sweden on the Delaware, and prints the Narrative or Journal of Captain John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, of the Queen's Rangers. This is the "Dr. Smith" who was arrested in December, 1775, and imprisoned in Philadelphia by order of the Continental Congress. His narrative, dated December 25, 1777, concerns his journey through Maryland, his arrest, and imprisonment. Another document of interest is "The Case of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, etc., about the Appointing of a new Deputy-Governor", relating to the removal of Sir William Keith as deputy-governor.

The Americana Germanica Press has brought out a substantial volume (pp. 386) entitled *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*, the work of Edwin M. Fogel, Ph.D. An introduction of some twenty pages includes a discussion of the contents of the volume and a treatment of the cultural conditions of the Pennsylvania Germans.

The great seal of the province of Maryland, lately discovered in London in the hands of a dealer in antiques, has been acquired by the state and placed in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Mendes Cohen has presented to the society a remarkable collection of letters and documents of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, containing about 700 separate items.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an account of the interesting cruise of the *Clarence*, *Tacony*, and *Archer*, three vessels successively used in a commerce-destroying cruise, June 6-27, 1863, by Lieutenant Charles W. Read of the Confederate navy. The account is by "an officer of the United States navy, with addenda by an officer of the three vessels", the latter officer being E. H. Browne. "Seafaring in Time of War, 1756-1763", by Helen West Ridgely, relates some experiences at sea, including imprisonment, of members of the Ridgely family. The materials are drawn principally from family papers. There is a second installment of Taney's letters to Van Buren, 1860, and the Letters of Rev. Jonathan Boucher are continued.

Dr. G. M. Brumbaugh of Washington will shortly bring out volume I. of *Maryland Records: Colonial, Revolutionary, County, and Church*. An especial feature of the volume is 139 facsimile pages of the census of 1776. A second volume, containing church records of Prince George's, Charles, Frederick, and Montgomery counties, and of the District of Columbia, is in course of preparation.

*The Heritage of the South: a History of the Introduction of Slavery, its Establishment from Colonial Times, and final Effect upon the Politics of the United States* (pp. 119), is the work of General Jubal A. Early, written at the close of the Civil War but only now published (Lynchburg, Brown-Morrison Company). There is an introduction by R. H. Early.

*The Financial Administration of the Colony of Virginia*, by Percy Scott Flippin, Ph.D. (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, series XXXIII, no. 2), constitutes a chapter of a monograph on the Royal Government in Virginia, which the author is preparing. In addition to describing the revenue system and its operation, including the personnel of its administration, the author discusses at some length the influence which the British merchants exercised upon the financial administration of the colony. Besides printed sources the author has used transcripts from the British archives in the Library of Congress, the Virginia State Library, the Virginia Historical Society, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April Mr. David I. Bushnell, jr., begins a study of the Virginia Frontier in History, 1778, with a paper, largely documentary, upon the Southwestern Area. A group of letters (1735-1742) from Edward Athawes, a merchant of London, to John, Charles, and Landon Carter of Virginia particularly illustrate the tobacco business in that period; a letter of Thomas Adams, November, 1774, relates to the dispute with England; some letters from John Allen to Theodorick Bland, 1779, are concerned with the matter of provisioning the prisoners from Burgoyne's army; and four letters from Mrs. Lucy Ambler, 1820-1823, are interesting for their glimpses of domestic life.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints in the April number some letters of Armistead T. Mason, three of which, written from Washington in January, 1817, relate principally to office seeking. They are contributed by Miss Kate Mason Rowland. The extracts from the diary of Edmund Ruffin in this issue include a visit to Washington, February 13-23, 1857, and give interesting glimpses of politics and politicians, notably a characterization of Sam Houston. Among miscellaneous letters are: a letter of Edward F. Tayloe to T. W. Gilmer, Oct. 10, 1840, and three letters to John Tyler in February and March, 1861, from Robert C. Winthrop, James Buchanan, and J. M. Mason, respectively.

*A History of Preston County, West Virginia*, in two volumes, by O. F. Morton, is published in Kingwood, West Virginia, by the Journal Publishing Company.

The *Proceedings and Addresses* of the fifteenth annual session (December, 1914) of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (1915, pp. 150) contains the record of a very profitable discussion on the making of county histories, by various students, and a paper on the North Carolina historians, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks.

The Georgia Historical Society will bring out during the year a portion of the manuscripts of Benjamin Hawkins, member of the Continental Congress from North Carolina, 1781-1784, 1786-1787, United States Senator, 1790-1795, and Indian agent of the United States in 1785 and from 1796 to 1816. The society's *Annals* for the year ending February, 1915, have just appeared.

The Bureau of American Ethnology has published as Bulletin 46 (Washington, 1915, pp. 1614) *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language*, by Rev. Cyrus Byington (1793-1868), missionary to that tribe.

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* W. W. Pierson presents a study of the case of *Texas v. White*, Professor James E. Winston writes a paper on New York and the Independence of Texas, drawing materials largely from newspapers, and Professor Frederic L. Paxson discourses upon the Constitution of Texas, 1845, in the making.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Society held its semi-annual meeting at New Orleans about April 21; Dr. Dunbar Rowland of Mississippi was elected president.

The first number (March) of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, the new organ of the Tennessee Historical Society, has made its appearance. In 1896 the society inaugurated the publication of the *American Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Professor W. R. Garrett, who was succeeded six years later by Mr. A. V. Goodpasture. But in 1904 the magazine fell by the wayside. The editor of the new maga-

zine is St. George L. Sioussat, professor of history in Vanderbilt University. The rich stores of historical materials possessed by the Tennessee Historical Society and in the state archives offer an exceptionally fine field for such a journal, and the scholarship and efficiency of Professor Sioussat are guarantees of its editorial conduct. This first number contains two body articles: "Colonel Burr's First Brush with the Law", an account by W. E. Beard of the proceedings in Kentucky against Aaron Burr in the autumn of 1806, and the first installment of a monograph on the Indian Policy of the Federal Government and the Economic Development of the Southwest, 1789-1801, by Donald L. McMurtry. In a section devoted to documents is printed the journal of General Daniel Smith, August, 1779, to July, 1780, as commissioner of Virginia for running the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia. Inasmuch as this boundary line, separating Virginia and Kentucky on the one side from North Carolina and Tennessee on the other, has remained a subject of controversy and litigation even to our own time, this journal possesses not only historical but also prime practical importance. The journal is clarified by the editor's introduction and annotations. A briefer document is Lieutenant M. McKenzie's journal of his reconnoissance of Mobile Bay, January 5-14, 1815, contributed by Mr. John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society.

A bill was introduced at the recent session of the Tennessee legislature for the establishment of a department of archives and history. It is now understood, however, that because of pressure of business at the close of the session the bill was not brought to a final vote.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* consists of a third selection of letters from the Oran Follett collection belonging to the society. (Previous selections from this collection appeared in the *Quarterly*, vol. V., no. 2, and vol. IX., no. 3.) The letters in this group are chiefly from Joshua R. Giddings to Oran Follett, 1843-1847. A letter from the committee of correspondence for the Whig Convention of Massachusetts to Giddings, June 25, 1845, is of interest. The letter is signed by S. C. Phillips, Charles Allen, and C. F. Adams. Annotations, chiefly biographical, are furnished by Miss L. Belle Hamlin.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April contains the following papers: the Aaron Burr Conspiracy in the Ohio Valley, by Miss Leslie Henshaw; the Evolution of Sandusky County, by Basil Meek; the West in American History, by John Lee Webster, president of the Nebraska Historical Society; and Isaac Newton Walter, Pioneer Preacher of Ohio, by Byron R. Long.

To arrange for an historical and educational celebration of the Indiana Centennial in 1916 the governor of the state has appointed an Indiana Historical Commission of eight members, including Professor



J. A. Woodburn of Indiana University and Professor Harlow Lindley of Earlham College, the latter being secretary of the commission. Among its functions will be that of publishing documentary and other materials on the history of the state.

The article of chief importance in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* is by William O. Lynch on the Flow of Colonists to and from Indiana before the Civil War.

The first volume of the *British Series* of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, edited by Professors C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, has just appeared. It comes down into the year 1765 and bears the subtitle "The Critical Period". The second volume, bearing the subtitle "Occupation and Trade", will be ready for distribution in July. Volume XV. of the *Collections*, a report upon county archives, by Dr. Theodore C. Pease, is also in press. Progress is being made in the preparation for the press of the George Rogers Clark papers recently discovered in the Virginia State Library, to be edited by Professors James A. James and C. H. Ambler.

The contents of the October number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* include a paper by Professor William W. Sweet on the Methodist Episcopal Church and Reconstruction; the story of the County Seat Battles of Cass County, Illinois, by J. N. Gridley; a Sketch of the Life of Jules Leon Cottet, a Former Member of the Icarian Community, by Felicie Cottet Snider; Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, Quincy, and the Civil War, by William H. Gay; an address on the services of General James Shields, by Archbishop Ireland; and the following letters: Abraham Lincoln to C. R. Welles, Feb. 20, 1849, Stephen A. Douglas to General James Shields, April 2, 1841, and Andrew Jackson to John Reynolds, governor of Illinois, July 16, 1831.

Under the title *The Jefferson-Lemen Compact*, in a pamphlet published by the Chicago Historical Society (pp. 59), Mr. Willard C. MacNaul presents an interesting and well-written address on the relations between Jefferson and the Baptist pioneer James Lemen in the exclusion of slavery from Illinois and the Northwest Territory, based on documents (transcripts) which are printed as appendixes.

Intending to honor Abraham Lincoln by marking as the "Lincoln Way" the route over which the young Lincoln travelled from the Indiana border to his new home in Illinois in 1830, the legislature of Illinois made an appropriation for investigation of the route. Acting under the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, Dr. Charles M. Thompson has prepared a report on the subject, *Investigation of the Lincoln Way* (Springfield, 1915, pp. x, 70) which, with its appendix of documents, forms a model investigation of such a topic, with careful and interesting critical use of varied sources of information.

*History of the Disciples of Christ in Illinois, 1819-1914*, by N. S. Haynes, is issued by the Standard Publishing Company of Cincinnati.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library has recently acquired a small collection of papers, miscellaneous, but containing many valuable autographs of people connected with Detroit history, from Mr. Herbert Bowen; a number of letters from the family of C. C. Trowbridge; and, from Mr. Burton, a manuscript diary kept by one Joseph Valpey, of Salem, Massachusetts, during the War of 1812, and containing an interesting account of life in Dartmoor Prison.

The Minnesota Legislature, at its recent session, provided for the construction of a building, at the cost of \$500,000, for the Minnesota Historical Society and the state archives. A site has been purchased, plans are being drawn, and construction will soon begin.

The *Iowa Social History* series, the latest venture of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has been inaugurated by the issuance of two volumes: a *History of Social Legislation in Iowa*, by Mr. John E. Briggs; and a *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, by Dr. John L. Gillin. The third volume of Dr. C. R. Aurner's six-volume *History of Education in Iowa* will soon be put to press.

The most extensive paper in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is entitled *Some Episodes in the Early History of Des Moines*, being a selection from the autobiography of John A. Nash with an introduction by Dan E. Clark. Other articles are: an account, by Jacob Van der Zee, of the Half Breed Tract, a reservation laid out in 1824 for the half-breeds of the Sac and Fox nations; a sketch, by George E. Roberts, of the career of Jacob Rich (1812-1913), newspaper editor and politician in Iowa for many years; and an account of the Indians of Iowa in 1842 as related by two Friends, whose reports were published in *The Friend*, December 23 and 30, 1843, and January 20, 1844. Introductory notes to the latter article are supplied by Dan E. Clark.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* is a "Public Archives Number", containing the paper on the Principles of Classification of Archives, read by Miss Ethel B. Virtue in the conference of archivists at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago; a brief paper on Reciprocity in Historical Materials, by Lawrence J. Burpee of Ottawa, Canada; the third paper on the Public Archives of Iowa, by C. C. Stiles, superintendent; editorial discussion of the Iowa archives law and administration, accompanied by the new law of the state concerning archives, also a discussion of Mr. Burpee's paper, read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, on Restrictions of the Use of Historical Materials.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for April, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, contains a paper by Dr. F. F. Stephens

on Nathaniel Patten, Pioneer Editor, who published the *Missouri Intelligencer*, the first newspaper printed west of the Mississippi River outside of St. Louis; two by F. A. Sampson, Bibliography of the Missouri Press Association, and Early Travel in Missouri; also a reprint, from Jedediah Morse's *Report on Indian Affairs* (1822), of the part relating to Harmony Mission.

The April *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains an interesting journal by Mrs. Lodisa Frizzell of Illinois, of a journey across the plains to California in 1852.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* for January continues the Reminiscences of Judge Francis M. Thompson, relating in particular to a journey in 1862-1863 from St. Louis up the Missouri and down the Snake and Columbia rivers to Portland and San Francisco.

*The Nebraska Blue Book and Historical Register, 1915* (pp. 989), edited by Addison E. Sheldon, contains historical rosters of the principal territorial and state officials, including United States senators and representatives; a sketch of the history of Nebraska, and some 87 pages of annals; historical statements concerning the departments, institutions, etc.; an Outline of Taxation in Nebraska, 1854-1913, by W. E. Hannan; and a sketch of the state's constitutional history.

The Indian Office has just published *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun while Indian Agent at Santa Fé and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico* (pp. xiv, 554, and maps) edited by Dr. Annie H. Abel.

The contents of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for April include Some Remarks upon the New Vancouver Journal, by F. W. Howay; the Organization and First Pastorate of the First Congregational Church of Walla Walla, Washington, by T. C. Elliott; and a discussion of the Rights of the Puget Sound Indians to Game and Fish, being an address sent to the Washington legislative session of 1915, by Dr. Charles M. Buchanan, United States Indian agent at Tulalip, Washington.

The principal articles in the December *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are a History of the Astoria Railroad, by Leslie M. Scott; the Fur Trade in the Columbia River Basin prior to 1811, by T. C. Elliott; and the Influence of the Canadian French on the Earliest Development of Oregon, by John Minto.

A brief general survey of the archive materials in Ottawa outside the present Archives Building may be seen in the recent *Report* of the Royal Commission on the Records of the Public Departments (pp. 16).

The *Report* of the Public Archives of Canada for 1913 (pp. 304), just published, besides listing accessions, reprints the *Ordinances of the Province of Quebec* (Quebec, 1767), calendars the public letters in the

Neilson collection, 1801-1824, continues to the end of 1781 the abstracts of correspondence relating to the United States at the Affaires Étrangères, Paris, and completes the calendar of the papers of Bishop Inglis.

No. 9 in the series of *Publications of the Canadian Archives* consists of two volumes, edited by Professor E. H. Oliver of the University of Saskatchewan, entitled *The Canadian North-West: its Early Development and Legislative Records* (Ottawa, 1914, pp. 688, 689-1348, and six maps). A brief account of the constitutional development of the Prairie Provinces and of pioneer legislation in the District of Assiniboia is followed by a mass of documents relating to the Red River Colony, Assiniboia, the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, the transition to Dominion government and to the establishment of Manitoba, and the constitutional development of the northwest territories from 1869 to the establishment of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. An important place among these documents belongs to minutes of territorial councils. The work seems to be thorough, and likely to be of much value. The accompanying maps are reproductions ranging from 1685 to 1912.

No. 10 in the same series, a work of wider scope, indeed a manual of the first importance to every user of the Dominion archives, is the first volume of a *Guide to the Documents in the Manuscript Room of the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa, 1914, pp. 318) prepared by Mr. David W. Parker of that establishment. The portions of the archives treated in this volume are series G and C (original collections), Q, A, B, the other transcripts from England, and the transcripts from France. Fuller calendars of some of these series have been printed in former times, but their method of publication has made them so hard to use that those who are most familiar with them will give the most hearty welcome to the present volume, which, with its successor, presents a careful descriptive list of the whole collection, orderly and systematic, and above all, provided with an excellent index.

Two papers by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Loyalist Settlements on the Gaspé Peninsula* and *The Temporary Settlements of Loyalists at Machiche, P. Q.*, which appeared in vol. VIII. of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, have been issued as separates.

The annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society was held in Toronto June 2-4. The chief addresses were those of the president, Mr. Clarence M. Warner, on the Growth of Canadian National Feeling, and of Professor George M. Wrong on the Work of Champlain.

The *Papers and Records* of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society, vol. VI. (Napanee, 1915, pp. 55), contains two articles by Walter S. Herrington, K. C., on Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, and on the Courts of Requests established in Upper Canada in 1792 for the collection of small debts.

The *Report of the Provincial Archives Department* of British Columbia for the year 1913 (Victoria, 1914, pp. 134) contains many interesting historical documents, among which may be especially mentioned Vancouver's confidential report to the Admiralty on his dealings with Bodega y Quadra at Nootka in 1792, and 39 letters of Sir James Douglas, 1845-1857. As *Memoir No. I.* the Archives issues a monograph by Dr. C. F. Newcombe on *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island* (pp. 69), in which the writer argues the claim of Vancouver to that distinction.

R. Büchi has contributed a volume on the *Geschichte der Panamerikanischen Bewegung* (Breslau, Kern, 1914) to Schücking and Wehberg's series of *Völkerrechtliche Monographien*.

The *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba) continues in the September-December and January-February numbers the "Correspondencia de los Intendentes Generales de Hacienda de la Isla de Cuba con el Gobierno de España" (1749), and documents pertaining to the history of the "Gran Legión del Águila Negra" (1830).

A volume by C. Hispano deals with *Colombia en la Guerra de Independencia, la Cuestión Venezolana* (Bogotá, Arboleda, 1914, pp. xiii, 318).


In the *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, vols. XXXI. and XXXII., and also separately, Senhor Eduardo de Castro e Almeida, chief conservator of the National Library of Lisbon and director of the archive concerned, has published two volumes of an *Inventário dos Documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes no Archivo de Marinha e Ultramar de Lisboa* (Rio Janeiro, Bibliotheca Nacional, 1913, 1914, pp. 653, 745). These two volumes are devoted to the *capitania* of Bahia, 1613 (practically 1731)-1762 and 1762-1786. They list 12,000 documents, summarizing the most important, or even giving full texts; and furnish most solid foundations for the colonial history of eastern Brazil.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. H. Sherrill, *French Memories of Eighteenth Century America* (Scribner's Magazine, April, May); W. R. Thayer, *John Hay in Politics and Diplomacy, John Hay as Secretary of State, John Hay's Statesmanship* (Harper's Magazine, April, May, June); G. W. Goethals, *The Building of the Panama Canal*, II., III., IV. (Scribner's Magazine, April, May, June); R. F. Dixon, *Eddy's War: an Unfamiliar Chapter in Canadian History* (Canadian Magazine, May); E. Wagemann, *Die Deutschen Kolonisten in Südamerika* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1); *id.*, *Das Deutschtum in Südamerika* (Deutsche Rundschau, March).

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